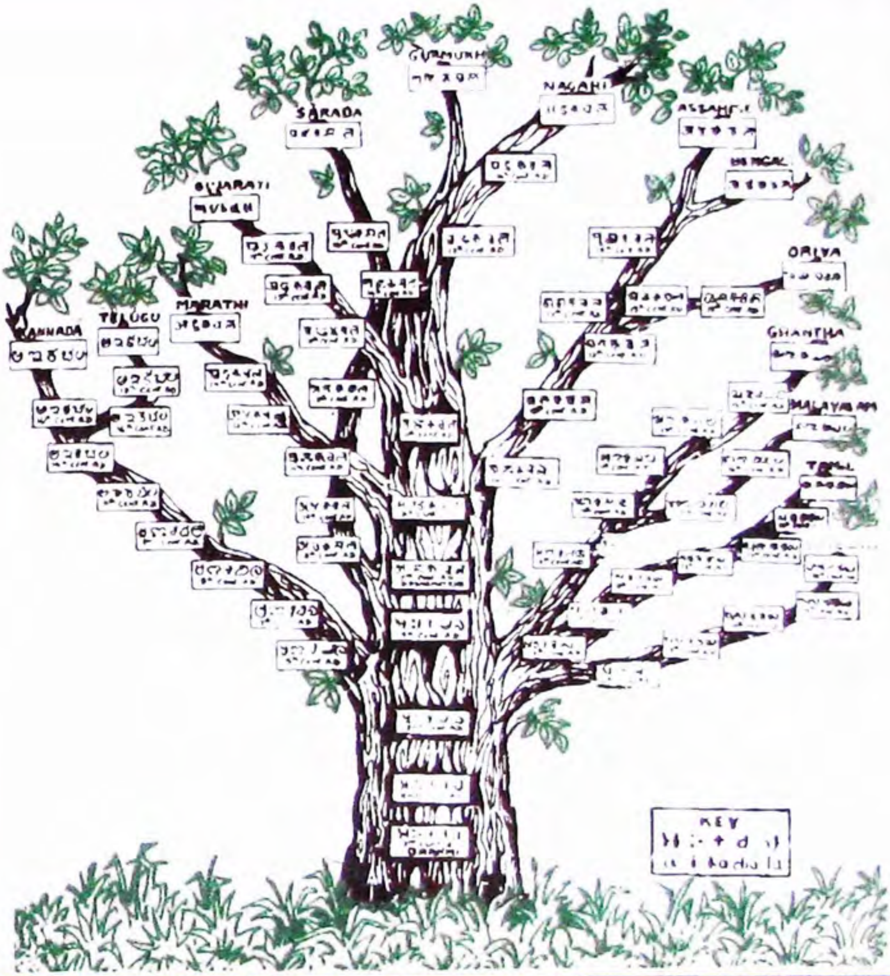
literacy education



EDITORS

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LITERACY EDUCATION

[A Collection of Papers on Literacy Education by Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, presented to him on his entering 50th year]

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Editorial

Education, instead of promoting equality has created inequal societies in India. Whether one looks at education from the point of inputs, distribution and concentration of institutions, beneficiaries of the system, or as a key to rank, status and wealth in the society, this inequality becomes evident. In a country with multiple ethnic groups, multiple cultures and multiple languages uniformity of education is bound to leave the society uninspired and unmotivated.

Formal education in India appears to have reached a dead end. Educationists decry the products but the state continues to multiply them. India has the third largest technical manpower in the world and yet there is a shortage of doctors in its hospitals, engineers in the rural electrification schemes and agricultural scientists in the field. Even the agricultural universities are located in the cities. It is in this context that efforts are made to promote non-formal education to reach beyond the school rooms. India has an illiterate population consisting 70 per cent of its total population. The largest illiterate population is concentrated in the developing countries of the world. Very little effort has been made to study the traditional communicational processes among the illiterate people. It is blindly believed that by merely making them literate in a standard language. information and knowledge would flow to these people. But this has been proved untrue in many countries. Loss of mothertongue affects cultures in fundmental ways. Killing of language creates serious disturbances which have led to important psychological, sociological and political consequences. Those who engage themselves in literacy work must understand the ethos of the people and the various sociological and psychological processes which shape communities. They must realise that adult education can be successful only if it is based on expressed needs of a community. At a time when wittingly or unwittingly mothertongues appear to be planned out, those who are privileged to be highly schooled are attempting to formalise nonformal education so that they can control it, such realisation is hard to find.

Through his writings on education, language and society, Dr. Pattanayak has been trying to expose the hollow claims of higher education to highlight the dangers of formalising non-formal education. A champion of minorities and mothertongues, he believes that multiplicity is a strength to build on and not a weakness to worry about. He has emphasied, time and again, that small zone communication and

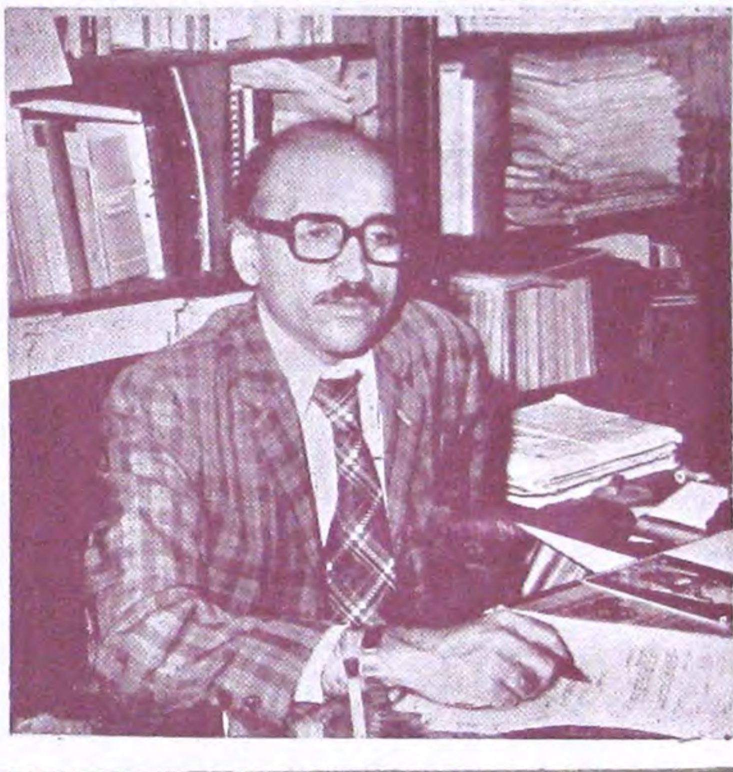
small group identities are greater defences of democracy. Therefore, those talking of the westernization of the third world, while emulating the notion of nation–state of the west need to give serious attention to his writings. In studying allocation of functional roles to language varieties in a dominant monolingual situation or to different languages in a multilingual situation, Dr. Pattanayak asserts, one must take into account the qualitatively different ethos in spite of the superficial parallels. He demonstrates that not only research strategies and methodologies would be different in the two situations but also the social science questions to be formulated in both the situations would be different. This has serious consequences for adult education in countries like India.

In rejecting caste as the sole basis of language analysis, in talking about the culture language as a link between the home language and the outer world, the language of wider communication in a multilingual context and application of scientific and historical methodologies to the Indo–Aryan studies he has made contributions to both theoretical and applied linguistics. But in introducing languistics in literacy education, in initiating linguistic studies of the poverty children and in the sociolinguistic study of the language of the minority groups he has tried to build a social conscience among linguists and language scholars in this country. He has perceived the sociolinguistic situation in India as an example of a situation obtaining in the third world and therefore his view point stands out as the view point of the third world.

We, his students and colleagues, had decided to bring out his papers on Literacy Education as a token of our affectionate regard towards him and his contribution in building individuals and institutions. We have timed it so that they can now be brought out on the eve of his entering the fiftieth year.

JENNIFER M. BAYER
H. L. N. BHARATI
RAJYASHREE SUBBAYYA

March 14, 1980



DR. DEBI PRASANNA PATTANAYAK

BORN	March 14, 1931, Orissa
MOTHERTONGUE	Oriya
OTHER TONGUES	English, French, Russian, Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi.

ACADEMIC CAREER :

1950	B. A. (Hons.) Oriya—Stood First in the University and secured the *Bhaktakari Madhusudan Gold Medal* by securing highest marks among the B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. students of the University in that year.
1953	M.A. Oriya—Stood first in the University and secured the *Bhakta-kari Madhusudan Gold Medal.*
1957	Diploma in French (distinction), Viswabharati.
1959	Diploma in Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona.
1961	Ph.D. Cornell University, U.S.A.

POSITIONS HELD :

Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, since July 1969.

Ex–Chief Linguist, American Institute of Indian studies, Poona, 1964-69.

Member of the Post-Graduate Faculty of Oriya Studies, Viswabharati University, 1953-64.

Honorary Professor of Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona.

Life Member, Linguistic Society of India, Linguistic Society of America and Member, All India Oriental Conference.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP :

Chairman of the Task Force on Language Development, Book Production and Libraries constituted by the Planning Commission, 1971.

Member of the Steering Committee set up by the Planning Commission for drafting the Fifth Five Year Plan on Education, 1971.

Member, University Grants Commission, Panel on Languages and Linguistics, 1975 onwards.

Chairman of the Committee on Research Methodology of Indian Council of Social Science Research, 1971.

Member, Advisory Committee, Intensive Education Survey, Manipur, 1972.

Member of the Senate, University of Mysore, 1971–74.

Member, Board of Governors, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, 1970-76; Central Institute of Hindi, Agra, 1971 ; Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, 1970-74; Hindi Shiksha Samiti, 1969; Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages Society, Hyderabad, 1977–.

Member, Organising Committee of the International Sanskrit Conference, Delhi, 1970.

Member, organising Committee of the Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethonological Sciences, 1978.

Member, Governing Board, State Institute of Languages, Kerala, 1969–.

Member, Linguistic Advisory Committee of the Orissa State Bureau of Book Production, 1973–.

Member, Executive Committee and Standing Committee of the National Literacy Coordination Committee, 1973-, Vice-President, 1975.

Member, Executive Committee, All India Adult Education Association, 1976–.

Member, National Committee for Model School Curricula and Chairman of their Linguistic Committee, 1973.

Member, Committee for Minority Languages set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs, 1974.

Member, Bharatiya Gyanapith Central Awards Committee, 1972-76.

Member, Educational Research and Innovations Committee of the N.C.E.R.T. 1977.

Member, International Institute of Telugu, Hyderabad, 1975.

Member, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1976.

Member, Hindi Advisory Committee, Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, New Delhi, 1978.

President, Lexicographers' Association of India, 1975.

President, Linguistic Society of India, 1976-78.

CONFERENCES

Among the many International Academic Conferences invited to and presented papers, the following deserve mention :

(1) Conference on Linguistic and Cultural Diversity called by the Government of Canada supported by UNESCO, Paris, 1971.

(2) IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, 1973.

(3) VIII World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada, 1974, (Paper presented in absentia).

(4) UNESCO Round Table Conference of the Specialists on the ALSED Programme, Paris, 1974.

(5) UNESCO Meeting of Experts on the Use of Mother Tongue for Literacy, Bomako, Mali, 1974.

(6) Conference on Sociolinguistics and Language Planning, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, 1974.

(7) AILA Conference at Stuttgart, 1975, (Paper presented in absentia).

(8) Eighth International Congress on Comparative Literature, Budapest, 1976, (Paper presented in absentia).

(9) Fifth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montreal, 1978.

(10) International Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden, 1978.

COUNTRIES VISITED

Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Denmark, France, Germany, Guyana, Hong Kong, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaya, Nepal, Rome, Sudan, Swedan, Switzerland, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Trinidad, U,A.R., U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R.

CURRENT RESPONSIBILITIES

(a) Acting as a Consultant to and assisting the Government of India and the State Governments in formulating issues and solving problems in matters relating to

language planning, and language use in administration, education and communication including mass media.

(b) Giving administrative and academic direction to research projects in the field of (i) Sociolinguistics, (ii) Psycholinguistics and (iii) General Linguistics and Languages.

(c) Giving administrative and academic guidance to projects in the field of Applied Linguistics with special reference to Language Teaching, Principles of Curriculum Construction, Methodology of Teaching, Preparation of instructional materials both audio–visual and programmed and training of teachers and teacher–educators dealing with the National Expert Committee on the preparation of model Curricula for Secondary Schools participates in the actual construction of Curricula.

(d) As Member of National Apex Bodies like Planning Commission Steering Committee on Education, National Coordination Committee on Adult Literacy, Panel on Linguistics of the University Grants Commission of India, etc., and as Chairman of National Bodies, like the Planning Commission Task Force on Language Development, Book Production and Libraries and the Committee on Research Methodology in Linguistics of the Indian Council of Social Science Research etc., and in the coordination of activities with a view to avoiding duplication and waste and provide the necessary link among the multiple planning and action points.

WRITINGS OF

DR. D. P. PATTANAYAK

ENGLISH

BOOKS

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5. Language Policy and Programmes. Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1969.
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8. Trends in Juvenile Literature in India (Edited). Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1976.
9. Language Curriculum (An Approach to and Structure of Curriculum in Indian Languages). Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manasagangotri, Mysore 570006. May 1974; Revised and enlarged July 1977.
10. Papers in Indian Sociolinguistics (Edited). Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1978.
11. Linguistic Pluralism and Mother Tongue Education : The Indian Context (1979) to be published by Oxford University Press.
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17. Distribution of Languages in India in States and Union Territories (Edited) Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore-570006, 1973.

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2. 'Language as Medium of Instruction, Administration Etc.' In Language and Society in India, IIAS, Simla, 1969.
3. 'Oriya and Assamese'. In Current Trends in Linguistics. Vol. V (Linguistics in South Asia). Mouton, 1969.
4. 'Language Competence and Culture Transmission'. Paper presented in the IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, USA, 1973. Conference Volume.
5. 'A Case for Indian Languages'. The Higher Learning in India. Edited by Amrik Singh and Phillip G. Alpbach, Vikas Publishers, 1974.
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7. 'Language and Cultural Policy'. In Towards a Cultural Policy, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1975.
8. 'Bilingualism in South India', Seminar on Sociolinguistics, June 1977, Telugu Akademy, Hyderabad.
9. Valedictory Address, Seminar on Sociolinguistics, Telugu Akademy, Hyderabad, 1977.
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3. 'Romanisation–A Problem'-'Seminar'–December, 1962.

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5. 'Facility and Control in Language Teaching'–Read in the All India Oriental Conference in Gauhati, 1964. Indian Linguistics, 35.

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14. 'Languages and Centre State Relations', Read in the Conference on Centre State Relations, Institute of Developmental Studies, Mysore University, 1973.

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2. A Letter of Poet Radhanath to Gangadhara edited with critical comments has been incorporated in the book published by the Radhanath Sahitya Parisad, Soro, Balasore, Orissa.
3. A Note on 'Campu Kavya' in the Oriya Encyclopaedia (Published by the Utkal University).

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2. Duiṭi Odiā Ramayana—Jhankar, Vol. 6, No. 7.
3. Kshudra Galpa—Jhankar, Vol. 7, No. 3.
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6. Sabuja Katha—Jhankar, Vol. 7, No. 8.
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11. Odia Sahityara Aithihasika Pracinata—Jhankar, Vol. 10, No. 1.
12. Nari Kavi Aparna Devi—Jhankar.
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15. Bismruta Samayaikapatra Sabita—Dagaro.
16. Podabhuin, Durbadala O āsu—Dagaro, Vol. 21, No. 2.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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We regret that the paper on "The Linguistic Issues and the Teaching Learning Material" could not be included in this book as it is to appear in a forthcoming publication of the Oxford University Press.

Our thanks are also due to Shri N. H. Itagi for the cover design and to the Proprietor and staff of M/s Samskrita Sahitya Sadana, Mysore, for the neat printing of this Volume.

—Editors

CONTENTS

1

TO INTRODUCE

Adult Education is not a programme to be pursued by a single institution or a single department at a single level. It is a movement to encompass individuals, communities and regions of a country to be pursued with a single minded devotion with clear-cut objectives and orchastrated efforts of all agencies, governmental as well as voluntary.

Adult literacy cannot exist in a vacuum. It has to be linked up with socio-economic policy objectives. Literacy should either prepare people for shouldering new responsibilities under conditions of social change or help them assume new occupational roles under conditions of economic transformation. It must be understood that literacy is motivated and sustained by individual and social development goals.

The unclad and unfed body of the near and the dear one writing in the open pavement forms the only alphabet of anguish to millions of children in the villages or cities of this country. For the adult the child is an economic support to his tottering family economy. Therefore unless the literacy effort at least holds the promise of economic recovery, it is not likely to get adult support. Thus it will be seen that adult literacy maintains primary education and primary education for the child would be a motivating factor for adult literacy.

There is ambivalence of opinion about the definition of literacy in so far as the standard to be attained by a person to be called literate. Whatever may be the motivating factor and the level of attainment, it must be admitted that the skills of reading, writing, computing and their context have to be taught even before the content is taught.

Functional literacy presupposes that the reading, writing and computation skills are taught concurrently with a text which is occupationally motivated. Thus a farmer's literacy programme will choose subjects like higher productivity, use of

fertilizers, pesticides and improved methods of cultivation, whereas a family planning programme will choose subjects like economic benefits of a planned family, the bane of a large family, child care etc.

Whatever may be the content, the real problem is one of communication. In a multi-lingual and multi-dialectal country, language plays a pivotal role in communication. Selective use of language has created an artificial barrier between the producers and consumers of modern knowledge. While on the one hand with the expansion of knowledge and the breaking of the time and space barrier, language isolation is also breaking down in the modern world, on the other hand the large scale printing and mass media has unleashed language imperialism which drives smaller languages to fight for isolation. Unless an educational strategy which recognises linguistic and cultural pluralities as strength to build upon rather than as handicap to further learning is developed, the present education in India is bound to remain irrelevant to the existing realities in this country as well as all over the world.

The non-formal adult education in muliti-lingual countries is confronted with the twin problems of instant communication, standardisation and modernisation. It is called upon to develop a strategy to structure an educational pattern so as to enable the largely illiterate population living in remote areas of the country enter the main stream of national life and thereby ensure meaningful participation in the process of modernisation. The multilingualism also poses a major challenge as it involves development of strategy of literacy which can steer through the major languages, dialects as well as registers and other varieties. If education is to share the current concerns of mankind in establishing self directed societies, then it must innovate. Pursuit of the myth of value free social sciences resulting from irrational consumerism on the one hand and colonial and capitalist industrialisation and urbanization on the other, has fragmented society and alienated individuals and groups. As language is the carrier of social and cultural values, educational innovators must seek alliance with language specialists. Educationists often treat the child as a —social. By denying him early education through the mothertongue or opportunity of bridging home language with the school language, they create a cognitive imbalance and make the learner insensitive to the cultural nuances of his society. The most relevanf innovative measures in the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, therefore, can only be taken with a proper understanding of the language ethos of those countries.

The 'friendly invasion' of the dominant threatens the very existence of many small communities speaking diverse languages. Therefore both the dominant as well as the minority language users are afraid of talking about language in the context of adult education. It must be remembered that in multilingual countries it is not a case of dominant versus minority languages. As in the case of technology in developing countries, it is not a case of labour intensive small and intermediate technologies vs. capital intensive large scale technology, but a case of multiple technologies ranging from gobar gas to the atomic energy, so also in the case of languages it is a case of large and small languages, not large vs. small languages. As in the case of industry, so also in the case of languages a policy of protection should be in favour of small languages. The potentiality of small languages for intimate communication, that of intermediate languages for intergroup linkage should be fully exploited, so that their output can be utilised as input for the development of the major, the dominant and the standard. Litreacy educators can succeed only if they identify languages of wider communication at successive stages of socio-political linkage and adopt strategies of biliteracy to build bridges of understanding.

2

ADULT EDUCATION

Introduction

In a country where formal education in two hundred years has left four hundred millions illiterate, has not covered all children of school going age and has left eighty eight out of every hundred covered as dropout, wasted and stagnated by the end of school, adult education is bound to be non-formal. The institutional education in India has resulted in providing education only for a low percentage of the population. It is responsible on the one hand for the widening gap between a few well trained and millions of illiterates and on the other a large primary school enrolment and an equally large dropout, stagnation and wastage. It is inflexible, textbook bound, non-competitive and largely irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the society. Merely multiplying such schools is neither likely to ensure universalisation of education nor obliteration of adult illiteracy.

Thus it will be seen that adult education has a role different from the time and textbook bound certified education imparted in the school. It is to make the adult learner aware of the factors which limit his opportunities of free development, thus enabling him to manage his own affairs. The alphabetic literacy, which is being most talked about in developing countries of Asia and Africa is only one of the means, however important it may be, for attaining this end.

Adult education is human resources development. Human resources development is necessary so that people's affairs can be left in the people's hands. Take for example law. Because of the lack of awareness among the people about their rights, duties and opportunities and because administration including administration of law is conducted in a language not accessible to the people, there was great dependence on law courts and lawyers. Ignorance of law resulted from ignorance of language and literacy. Litigation often resulted in the ruination of both the parties. The purpose of measures underlying the settiug of village panchayats was to reduce the dependence of people on the law courts. But unfortunately law

schools went on multiplying and the production of a large body of lawyers built into the system the antithesis of delivering the legal care of people in their hands.

Prohibition can be taken as another example. While the social reformists give sermons about the dangers of drinking, the diehard economists point out the revenue accruing to the public exchequer from this source. Therefore, law against drinking continues to be passed while breweries continue to multiply. It may be that part of the money so accrued to the public exchequer is spent on providing succor to the families ruined by drinking. But this is like killing the neighbour's cow and when he complains presenting him with a pair of shoes made of the cow hide.

Economic resources planning divorced from human resources development results in a system which invests the affairs of people in the hands of managers, whether they are self appointed or appointed through make-believe democratic procedures. The imperialists all over the world have prided in developing the economic resources of underdeveloped countries. Even after their departure the beneficiaries swear in the name of development and work vigorously to maintain the system. Both in the capitalist and the communist countries one finds systems where the affairs of the people are run by a managerial class. The people everywhere need to be educated about the constraints on their autonomy. There is ample scope for adult education in all countries irrespective of achievements of formal educational institutions.

In India today the scientific manpower is the third in the world. But this cannot be termed as human resources development. As exploitation of raw material in one country for being processed in and marketed by another cannot be termed as the economic development of that country, similarly creation of cheap exportable educated labour at great cost to the country cannot be called human resources development of the country concerned. Both in technology and education one must develop systems appropriate to one's need. One does not make or buy big caps, one gets caps that fit. Similarly a country does not ape big technology, it must have technology appropriate to its needs.

Education can be human resources development when it brings out the perfection inherent in a learner. The learner can thus contribute his mite to the society of which he is a member while expecting the society to fulfil his needs. Societies built on capital intensive economy develop a pattern of life where profit is shared by a handful of individuals or by a set of managers appointed by the State. Where

capital is scarce such an economy is bound to create greater inequalities. A country with surplus population must develop its manpower resources and create a labour intensive economy. Only then can it expect full employment and establisment of a society based on distributive justice.

In a country like India the declining adult education is intimately connected with the declining autonomy of individuals and groups to manage their affairs. As the literate culture dominates the non-literate culture and knowledge becomes mediated by writing and printing, there is a tendency on the part of the custodians of knowledge to ration the flow of communication. This leads to the assertion of popular languages, a process known as 'Prakritisation' in India. The super-imposed colonial languages often do not participate in this process and therefore becomes a barrier to both literacy and education. Thus literacy which is at best one of the steps to education tend to become equated with education. It is therefore, important that the factors inhibiting literacy are examined with care.

The factors inhibiting literacy can be seen from different angles. If one takes into consideration the geographical factor one finds that the physical geography is responsible for disparate groups living in isolated areas. This is particularly true of the tribal population. Geographical factors which isolate one group from another also inhibit dispersion of linguistic elements facilitating standardisation. Thus geographical factors which restrict the scale of communication become a major contributing factor for illiteracy.

The linguistic factor[1] is partly a consequence of the natural regions and partly of the stratified society. Multiple languages divided into regional and social dialects, written and spoken and formal and colloquial styles are a major deterrent to literacy, particularly when a foreign tongue enjoys the highest status in the society. Multiplicity of scripts adds a further dimension to this problem. The divergence of the language of education from the language of administration on the one hand and the language of mass communication on the other inhibits literacy. Bi-and multi-lingualism pose serious challenges to the student of adult literacy. For the linguistic minorities there may at times be a need for literacy in two languages.[2]

The linguistic factor is intimately related to the cultural factor. The Indian languages belonging to four or more language families indicate the diverse ethnicity of the people speaking them. In fact maintenance of multilingualism in India to a large extent is due to the will to maintain distinct ethnic ideniity of groups. The

history of the development of Indian languages show that when a language or a variety of language, which becomes prestigious because of its being the carrier of all knowledge, is confined to a minority upper strata, simpliiied spoken languages emerge. They act as sluices which carry the knowledge so confined to the people. In India, where even in early times literacy was limited, there is a long tradition of oral transmission of knowledge. Social life and leadership was not linked with the ability to read and write. By and large the society which was illiterate was educated as a result of the oral transmission of ths accumulated wisdom and there were even uneducated among the scribes, those who knew how to read and write.

The economic and political factors which brought about a near complete break with the past tradition have played a major role in the accentuation of illiteracy. It has even resulted in the blockade of natural communication between the literate educated and the illiterate, thus converting the large mass of illiterates into uneducated. Economically, with the British take over of the country, the village self-sufficiency based on pursuits of agriculture and handicrafts became the first casualty. With the imperialist policy trying to exploit the natural resources of the country and using them to the best interest of the British, very little was available for distribution among the local populace. With the scarce resources and growing demand, only the sectors favoured by the rulers got the better of it and it resulted in the inequal distribution of resources. The society was divided between the privileged few and the underprivilleged many. The upper caste interest in the stratified Indian society and the interest of the economically privileged became one and both conspired to perpetuate an elitist rule. This led to the policy of illiteracv and ignorance, even though there was external allegiance to education by all concerned.

The political factor also aided illiteracy. The centralised civil service was meant for the British. But whatever little was opened up for the Indians required rigorous and prolonged preparation and was only accessible to the privileged. With the advent of the British, all Hindu, Muslim and Sikh educational Institutions which provided grass root level literacy and education were closed down on the plea that they were imparting religious education ; but the secular education was entrusted to the missionaries who imparted education in an alien tongue which further inhibited literacy. As though the thousand year old literary tradition was nullified overnight by this one decision. The alignment of the church and the State at this stage resulted in (a) a small group of christians separated from the majority of Indians

divided by the worship of many gods ; and (b) a small English knowing elite separated from the majority of Indians divided by the use of many tongues. This excessive learning of English naturally resulted in large scale illiteracy and limited education.

If adult education is to be attempted in a serious sense in the above background then it will entail a radical change of attitudes and existing educational progarmmes. Adult education can neither be effective through formal institutions nor would it succeed by institutionalising it. Adult education can make headway only through non-formal learning.

An Approach to Non-formal Adult Education :

Every kind of education, whether in the school or out of school. has some degree of formality and some degree of informality. Degrees of formality or lack of it in time, space, methods and materials, etc. parameters to define a particular system of education, can be analysed and conclusions reached about the characteristics of the system. However the labels 'Formal' and 'Non-formal' education are good analytical tools and need to be clarified to avoid confusion.

Formal education is marked by three important characteristics.

(a) Formal education expects all children irrespective of their educational and social background to reach an edcational goal in a single time scale. Whether a child comes from the forests of Bastar or from the metropolis of New Delhi he is expected to attain a certain level of education within the same specified time.

(b) Formal education works on the basis of a rigid syllabus and prescribed textbooks. The syllabus is standardised for the mass of average students and the textbook rules the classroom. More emphasis is given on teaching than on learning. The teaching often is that of the textbook than of the content subject.

(c) Formal education works towards a degree. It decides the degree on the basis of a terminal examination which marks pass/fail. The examination is neither an index of intelligence, ability, achievement nor motivation. Whether acknowledged or not, the entire formal education is job oriented, though it is only oriented towards white collar jobs.

Non-formal learning must break away from these constraints if it has to serve its purpose.

(a) It must build into the system a flexibility which will permit the learners to move at their own pace. It should be able to cater to the specialised needs of groups of learners.

(b) Its syllabus must be flexible and need based. Need can be seen from the angle of both the consumer as well as the planner. The felt needs of the consumer and the needs of the community observed by qualified social scientists constitute the expressed needs of a community. The syllabus of non-formal learning must be based on these expressed needs.[3] Since these needs change with the changing social dynamics, mere textbooks will not be able to meet the demands of such a system.

(c) Degree should be incidental to non-formal learning. Non-formal learning need not be a replica of the formal education and cater to the populist degree mania. It should offer courses and programmes in further education which are not degree oriented but leisure time education either to improve the quality of life or to provide specific skills to people who wish to improve their vocational standards. It shouid offer courses for operatives, apprentices, midwives and intending craftsmen ; it should offer programmes on planned parenthood, horticulture, plant diseases and inflation.

The above list is illustrative and not exhaustive. From this it need not be construed that non-formal education is a stream for socio-economically handicapped. In fact, a linguist wishing to learn logic or cybernetics, an economist wanting to learn statistics or a physicist wishing to learn philosophy or music can take advantage of non-formal education. These emphasis however should be on those who have no access to education rather than on those who had some education but no access to higher education. The reason for this is to avoid the danger of the privileged having best of both the worlds of formal and non-formal education.

The formal education being elitist, by way of concession to the common man, puts a little work experience in education. This again is lip service as the managers of education have failed to evolve a strategy to give credit to the child who is engaged in productive activities out of school. They insist on his being engaged in some work experience activities which are by and large irrelevant to his/her life style at home. Non-formal education on the other hand must be work-centered learning. It must weave educational programmes around work.

It must however be seen that educational components in non-formal education are not diluted as work experience has been watered down in formal education.

At this stage it is necessary to clarify the confusion existing between what is known as correspondence course and continuing education on the one hand and non-formal education on the other. In India all Institutes of Correspondence Course and Continuing Education are engaged in extending the scope and accessibility of formal education. They are engaged in imparting degrees to those who for a variety of reasons could not reach the portals of University. This, no matter how important an institution, is anything but non-formal education.

Those seriously thinking about continuing education have to make up their mind as to whether their primary interest is education or certification with or without instruction. If it is the former, then certain amount of flexibility can also be built into this system. Courses could be designed and offered to those who are academically ready for it without insisting on a degree or diploma as necessary qualification for entrance.

While because of the requirements of degrees and strata, formal education has to insist on levels of entry behaviour, non-formal education has to be prepared to take the given and plan for further education. Therefore the curriculum of the non-formal education has to be flexible, need based, motivating and motivated.

As the main purpose of non-formal education is to convey a host of multi-faceted information of immediate relevance to the common man, induce critical thinking, and generate group interaction among them with a view to establishing an egalitarian society, it poses a major problem in communication. This problem can be viewed from several angles out of which two need special attention.

(a) In a country like India which has 400 million illiterates constituting 50% of the world illiterate population and about 400 languages with dialects, styles, registers and such other variations, languages is a major barrier of communication. Unless a clear strategy is adopted to reconcile the problems arising out of language use in local, regional and national levels on the one hand and informal and formal spoken and written on the other. This problem cannot be easily solved. The need for instant communication and long term planning for standardisation and integration must be kept in view while preparing non-formal eaucation material.

(b) In a country with as many as diverse culture groups, with diverse socio-economic and regional variations as we have, no standardised learning package

would work. For example, no matter how beneficial is irrigation, there is no point in talking about it to people who are are engaged in dry farming. Similarly no useful purpose would be served by talking about growing cash crops to a group which is predominantly a hunting and food gathering community and which rightly consider such activity as a means of exploitation by the urban communities. Thus it wiil be clear that communication may break if the content is irrelevant and incidental to the lives of people. Educators working in the area of non-formal education have to have a deep acquaintance with the profile of their audience and their strategies must be able to be adapted to the needs of the consumers.

There is more to adult language learning than merely learning a language in the conventional sense. It is not merely building up of emergency vocabulary and controlled communication through graded and guided structures to meet the immediate day to day needs nor is it the study of the history of language and literature concerned. It is not merely learning a device to express emotions and sentiments and to control behaviour. It is all these and yet something more. It involves (a) creating an objective need in the learner for using the language for complex intellectual operations; (b) creating the ability in him to articulate the intellectual process in the company of his fellow professionals; and (c) creating the ability in him to comprehend the present, interpret the past and project the future through the use of language. Thus the learner must acquire competence to make appropriate responses in the varied social settings he is called upon to participate, fight the poverty of conceptual experience, and test the relevance of any education he may have received through formal institutions. The learner must acquire the ability to question, to interpret, to hypothesise, and to express himself clearly. It is in this sense that language learning is a necessary condition of both academic success and success in life.

The importance of language use in non-formal education can be viewed from the angle of drop out, stagnation and wastage in the formal school system. The lack of understading of the difficulties created by the difference in the home language/ language of early childhood experience and the school language and consequently due to lack of any suitable strategy to transfer them to the school language, children particularly from the socio-econnmically backward communities fail, drop out of school and become a burden on the society. Non-formal education has a major responsibility for this category of learners.

Importance of language can be viewed from yet a different angle in the non-formal education. Communication here is not restricted to that from a reader to a writer or face to face interaction between a teacher and his classroom. In other words as besides the printing press, the radio, the television and the film have to be pressed into service, the place of language in communication becomes more complex. In any case, whether the theme is earning a living and family economics health, nutrition and family planning or civic responsibility, the major problem is to involve the learner. This involvement can be ensured only if the educator can establish rapport with the groups (not merely understand and be understood) and make himself a member of the group.

The methods and materials in the formal system are standardised and uniform. Since the planning is from the top the problems on the ground are seldom visible to the planner. Although almost 90% of communication is verbal and the community is multilingual, even then the formal school is resistent to the preparation of material in languages of the learners or exploit their language for educational purposes, The non-formal educator has to be ecclectic in approach and instead of the educator dishing out his own experience and knowledge draw the experience of the group out and build the material around it.

In teaching reading and writing, the principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation can be used profitably in grouping letters. Vocabulary build up using the cumulative groups of letters can go on simultaneously. If the lead question approach is used to involve the learners in group interaction, then some of the replies could be used as literary captions. All these newer approaches are experiments to facilitate communication at different levels. In short, whether it is teaching numeracy or environment, providing supplementary information on sanitation, family planning or improved agriculture, unless the role of educator as communicator is appreciated, non–formal education is bound to degenerate. The pressure of the elitist education either to exploit it to its advantage or brand it as a separate stream for the handicapped already has created a good deal of confusion. Without proper appreciation of its role it might also wither because of the apathy of the consumer for whom it is designed and implemented by outsiders.

Non–formal education can grow with planning from the bottom. Integrated rural development and integrated education for the masses of people is almost sine qua non with the use of the language of the people to communicate. To motivate and involve them is a key concept in this process. As these approaches challenge

the existing attitudes, values and institutional framework, these are considered subversive by the vested interest. However the success of non-formal education depends on the clarity of purpose and resolve for action by those responsible for it.

Adult education cannot be centrally directed and its curriculum cannot be uniform. However the objectives need to be spelled out and instead of trying to fit the objectives in a rigid time mould, time must be found for the attainment of the objectives. It is in this context that a core or minimum curriculum for adult education is suggested below. This may however be modified on the basis of experience of adult education workers.

A Core Curriculum :

A core curriculum for adult learning must have a component of spoken language. It is necessary for both problem sharing and culture sharing and forms, a necessary condition for establishing rapport with the adult learners.

A. I. Dialogue with the target audience about their aspirations, attitudes. perceptions, priorities, problems and suggested solutions.
Emphasis on causal relationship. For example, Fire, Flood, Exploitation, Molestation etc., are not acts of God, but caused by natural phenomena.

II. Ability to comprehend spoken word:
Lectures / Talks
Discussions
Radio
Newspaper

III. Ability to make an oral presentation of grievances/needs. argumentation, refutation, etablishment of a point of view.

B. Ability to interpret illustrations:

Picture of a known object – Emphasis on writing / narrating.
Picture of an unknown object – Emphasis on clarity of meaning / concept.
Superficiality of the play way – (i) A picture 'the cat taking pictures' created great confusion in the learners.

— of the illustration

(ii) hut in TV (Orissa experiment, where none could identify the hut which was taken out from a TV frame).

C. Recognition of symbols : In isolation

In combination : words, phrases, sentences

Conventional arrangement—

Symbols—their superfluity and inadequacy sound symbol fit,

I. Dictionary order

II. Pictorial presentation : A for apple

III. Key word presentation—

( )

mā ramā bara ramāra rabara

IV Sentence as the starting—

( )

Hindi : lālā tālā lā, lālā, lā, tālāl, lā

Marathi : kamal phul bagh.

V. Similarity of shape method :

Ecclectic in character. Can make use of all the above approaches. Based on the principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation, this method moves speedily from recognition (reading) to manipulation of symbols (writing).

D. Ability to sign one's name.

This is not a goal in itself. Ability to sign without comprehension of its value is a mere substitution of thumb impression by signature on instruments of exploitation such as bonded labour forms, high interest loan bonds etc.

E. Ability to read :

Why Read ?

1. To acquaint oneself with tradition
2. To satisfy curiosity
3. To obtain information

4. To acquire knowledge
5. To broaden outlook
6. To get an understanding of the relationship between immediate society, the country and the world
7. To develop critical thinking
8. To solve individual, social and cultural problems (including helping children at home in their studies)
9. To secure moral and spiritual guidance
10. To advance one's profession

Materials

Simplified——Simple——Complex materials are to be given to the neoliterate in a graded sequence.

Material suited to each of the above needs is to be chosen.

Matters relating to health, sanitation, civic problems (Rights and Duties), political pamphlets, local newspapers, Governmental forms, notifications, Road sign, simple job specific material, purans, fictional literature.

F. Ability to write :

Application to various District / State Authorities

Banks

FIR to Police

Filling in different categories of forms : Money Order, Railway Reservation, etc.

Writing letters to near and dear relatives and friends

Simple narration of events, experiences

G. To sum : Numbers and Numerals : The four operations (Relevant to one's job or interest). Basic idea of decimal system.

Currency :—Rupees and Paise

Weights and Measures : — Kilogram, Quintal, Ton.
Foot, Inch, Yard, Acre, Hectare.

Time :—Hour, Minute, Second. Days of the Week, months in a year.

Distance :—Kilometer, Furlong, Mile.

Liquid :—Liters

H. Community singing / Sports.

Linguistics and Adult Education :

Adult education in a multilingual country like India is the greatest challenge to the linguist. Faced with problems of instant communication to be linked up with the standardisation and modernisation of the languages, the linguist is called upon to develop a strategy of literacy which can steer through the maze of languages, dialects, styles, registers and such other varieties.

Most literacy workers have convinced themselves that the dialect has nothing to do with literacy. And yet when a farmer's literacy manual is written in 'Suddh Hindi' (chaste Hindi) in Delhi and is not accessible to a farmer in Rajasthan or in parts of Bihar they do not know what to do about it. It is not as if a linguist can solve all the problems of literacy. In the Mahaboobnagar experiment in Andhra Pradesh,[4] one of India's well known linguists was associated in a programme for producing instructional material in the dialect. But the result was unsatisfactory. By the end of the course the learners could read (and write) Mahaboobnagar Telugu but they could not read standard Telugu with facility. The allotted time was inadequate and there was no follow up activity. Yet a question is often asked about the role of a linguist in an adult education programme.

The Mahaboobnagar programme clearly shows that unless adult literacy is functionally defined and from the curriculum formation through a perception to self-actualisation all steps are well integrated, adult education is bound to be incomplete. Unless reading the dialect is linked with the reading of the standard by a switch over mechanism, this problem cannot be satisfactorily solved. It is not enough to identify the needs and set the objectives, but it is necessary to structure experience through language in such a way that the competence in a language would be of a level which will not permit sliding back to literacy. Use of dialect in literacy is not an end in itself, but a means to attain necessary skills in the literary language in which sufficient reading material is available to maintain literacy.

All scientifically organized programmes indicate that whether it is for motivating or for ensuring the functionality of the programme, material sensitive to local language use is more effective for bringing the learners quickly to the threshold of literacy. But this is not enough. Constant bridging at all levels of language is

necessary to relate the local to the standard, which invariably is the high status language. There is always a tension among standardisation, elaboration and cultivation. An approach which fails to keep these processes in view may score immediate suceess, but is bound to fail in the long run. The problem of literacy in case of languages which have accepted another language as 'culture language'[5] needs more serious attention. It is to be remembered that the purpose of literacy is not to develop the undeveloped languages and dialects, but develop the human potential through conscientisation. Therefore a knowledge of language dynamics and language engineering becomes a must for a literacy worker in a developing country.

It is not as if the linguist can be eliminated if the problem of dialect is isolated. In a Poona slum where the literacy worker asks the child *tujhe vadil kāy kartāt* 'what does your father do ?' and gets frustrated as the child does not understand, the problem is of a different order. Undaunted, the worker asks *tujhā bāp kāy karto* and pat comes the reply *dāru pito āni āila mārto* 'drinks wine and beats mother'. This forcefully brings out the distance between the slum language and the standard spoken language, the problem of comprehension and the problem of status and attitude built into the language use.[6] Linguists, who make it their business to study the structure of varieties of spoken and written languages in different domains must be treated as indispensable allies of literacy workers to solve such problems.

In a meeting of the Scientific and Technical Terminology Commission, there was a discussion about the word for 'fishing rod'. Although many languages have the word 'bansi', the pundits rejected it in favour of a more sanskritised word 'ākheṭa daṇḍa'. Many people are incensed at such sanskritisms without knowing their implication. The choice of a high culture word whether Sanskritic or Perso-Arabic determines the style of the discourse. Since this has serious consequences for literacy it must be understood by the material producer. Take for example the Oriya word *nāsikā* and *nāka* 'nose'. The choice of *nāsikā* will require *kuncana karibā*, while *nāka modibā* in the sense of disapproval. Hindi *danta cikitsā* and *dā̃t ka ilāj* 'treatment of the tooth' illustrate similar problems. This is not only a problem in collocation, but the style of writing itself would be determined as a result of such choices.

Yet another dimension or the problem of language which has direct bearing on literacy is illustrated by the Tamil word which is written as *pāṭam*, read as *pāḍam*

spoken as *pāḍō* or the Assamese word which is written as *ciṭi bāch* but read as *siṭi bās*. The language specific conventions of writing and reading need to be analysed and integrated in the literacy curriculum. The rules moving either from the spoken to the written or from the written to the spoken have to be carefully worked out and graded before literacy texts are prepared.

Telugu, where most textbooks and much of the printed material was written in the Granthika style presents another formidable challenge to those engaged in adult education. In spite of the decision to effect a phased change over to the Sista vyavaharika the spoken standard style, the anomaly is bound to persist for some more time. The literacy workers even though working in a small homogenous dialect area have to keep these broader aspects of language development in view. Otherwise devoid of the continuing flow of reading material which is likely to be available in the standard language for years to come, the neo-literates are bound to lapse into illiteracy.

Linguistic minorities pose a major problem to the literacy worker. In many cases people are to be made literate in two languages, the mothertongue and the dominant language. The linguists must stretch their ingenuity to develop the strategy of transfer, thus making it feasible to run simultaneous literacy in the home language and the dominant language wherever possible.[7] Of course those of the dominant language speakers, who are minorities in another dominant language area may have to be made literate in either one or both the languages according to their choice. Facilities may be provided for this purpose. Very little research and experiment has gone into making such minorities literate.

Another peculiar problem is posed by linguistic minority communities who use a pidginised variety of a language as contact language. The most important among these is the Pidgin Naga, which is popularly known as Nagamese. This variety is not only a bridge among the mutually unintelligible Naga language speakers, but also a bridge between the various tribal language speakers and Assamese speakers. No literacy effort in this area can ignore the existence of this variety. The various tribal language speakers in the Koraput district of Orissa use Desia as a communication language in this manner. Similarly those in and around Ranchi in Bihar use Sadri or Sadni. Desia is a variety of Oriya and Sadri is a variety of Hindi. To what extent such intermediate languages can be exploited for furthering literacy has to be examined very carefully.[8]

Problem of Santhali somewhat somewhat parallels the situation obtaining in the case of Konkani speakers. The Konkani speakers are spread in Goa, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala. The Konkani language is written in four scripts, the Nagari Kannada, Malayalam and the Roman. The Santhalis are mainly distributed in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, though there are few thousands in Assam. The language consequently is written in five scripts. Nagari, Bengali, Oriya, Roman and the Ol scripts. The last is an indigenously developed script by one Raghunatha Murmu, himself a Santhali. Since the matter of scripts is an emotionally surcharged problem and the adoption of one or the other has many wider implications, literacy workers would do well to inform themselves about various aspects of this question with the help of linguists who have worked in these areas.

The above list is illustrative of challenges which literacy workers are likely to face. The various efforts at script and spelling reforms pose constantly renewed problems which need watching by trained linguists and their implications spelled out for the literacy workers. However it is not only in the area of mere language analysis that a linguist is relevant to a literacy programme. In the area of material production three major operations are envisaged requiring collaboration of linguists. Apart from writing materials which would presuppose language analysis, it is visualised that there will be need for translating and simplifying manuals and reading materials written by specialists.

Many international agencies are called upon to send specialists to prepare manuals for health education and agricultural education.[9] These manuals are either designed for village level workers in health and education or for voluntary organizations engaged in extension work. As the knowledge of English of the workers themselves is minimal, these texts need to be simplified. Take for example an instruction from a manual prepared by the Ministry of Health. "Schedule domiciliary visits to new acceptors of condums at least once during the first two months and every six months after they have become regular users".[10] This sentence has so many variables that for a person educated upto SSLC level it is difficult to comprehend it in one reading. Even after reading several times the chances of confusion cannot entirely be ruled out. Texts such as these need to be simplified. However the question is not as simple as it sounds at the first instance. How the simplification of an agreement between the governments of UK and Rhodesia assumed different nuances in the hands of government writers,[11] goes to prove

that a lot of expertise has to be brought to bear upon the problem. In Indian languages where prestige is often attached to the high style, texts have to be simplified to guide the inexperienced reader through graded steps into becoming an efficient reader. Here a parallel may be drawn with preparing textual material for purposes of second language learning. In the case of learning a second language the learner is first introduced to situationally and structurally graded material and slowly through the simple language used for native speakers he is guided to progress to greater complexities. In this case simplified language for neoliterate inexperienced reader slowly moves through simple language to greater complexities. Needless to say that the help of a linguist is essential in this operation.

Translations will have to be resorted to as for sometimes to come the experts will write in Engllsh. Even if some good reading matarial is published in one Indian language it may have to be translated into other Indian languages. Translation is one of the most neglected fields in the country. Without going into the details of discussion regarding linguistics and translation[12], it may suffice to point out that with languages belonging to four language families and many languages of doubtful affiliation, almost all structural and semantic complexities of translation one is likely to find in the tour of the world can be illustrated by Indian languages. Fourteen languages as medium of higher education, administration and mass communication should indicate the extent of translation needed in the country. Apart from the problem of vocabulary, the presence or absence of verbs in equational sentences, tense and gender concord, the different modes of relativisation and passivisation. the diffeiing case relations are few of the important areas which pose obvious problems in translation. What is important to understand in this connection is that a research base has to be created in appiled linguistics if functional adult education is to be achieved in a meaningful way.

The preparation of instructional material is not independent of the curriculum and philosophy underlying adult education in any country. Lyra Srinivasan speaks of four curriculum models.[13] The four models, the Information model, the Problem solving model, the Projective model and the Expressive, the creative or the self actualising model, form a continuum on the basis of maximal and minimal role of a teacher. Each model will dictate its own material and teacher preparation. For example, when people speak in terms of textbooks and supplementary readers their thinking is essentially of the information model. The system in which the

teacher engages himself in a one way communication of information, where the textbook dominates the class, where education is not relevant to the important segments or living of the adult learner is incompatible with adult education. External incentives and persuasions may result in external allegiance to a programme but it cannot generate the necessary emotional and intellectual precondition for adult education.

The conventional thinking on the subject makes a distinction between adult literacy and adult education. Thus in a curriculum of 350 hours 90–100 hours are given for literacy. This respresents a gross distortion and misunderstanding of both literacy and education. First of all it must be understood that language is not taught in a vacuum. Unless the content of the language instructional material is closely knit with the needs and interests of the learners this itself may act as the greatest disincentive for them. Therefore, taking structures like *lālā tālā lā, lāiā lā, tāla lā*, selected on an adhoc and random basis, and trying to generalise it for all groups of learners may not be the most efficient introduction of literacy.

Many prefer to use the primer prepared for native children for initial literacy. This thinking does not take into consideration the special psychological problems of an adult who either feels deprived because of being bypassed by the school or has a low self-image because of being a drop out. He certainly resents when treated as a child. Secondly a primer is a unit of formal schooling where it is structured differently with the curriculum. Thirdly, the primers themselves are often not even properly designed for the children. For example first, seventeen pages of the current Marathi Primer contains mostly imperatives. Under these circumstances, no matter how convenient it is for the administrator from the point of sale of material, one standardized primer is not the proper answer to adult education.

The knowledge sought to be imparted in an adult education situation must be need specific and the medium of communication location specific. This would indicate diversification of instructional material. But even accepting this diversity as basis, to what extent the initial material can be generalized needs to be studied more thoroughly and scientifically. So far only assertions of various iiteracy workers for and against such claims are available. For example, when one claims that the same literacy manual is being used for small and marginal formers, industrial and minnig workers, urban service workers, workers in different trades, tribals, scheduled caste groups and women, it has to be examined a little more carefully and should not be taken at the face value.

Literacy to be functional, language must be well integrated with content. If the aim of adult education is to impart a level of competence to the learner so that he can sustain his interest on his own without lapsing into illiteracy, then it is not enough to give performatory abilities in a mere recognition and manipulation of scripts, reading of controlled texts and writing letters to the grand child about one's health and the village fair. The adult learner must be made a competent reader with understanding of fairly complex structures so that he can read newspapers and make sense of various governmental forms and notifications. Very little research has gone into the officialise languages of our country. The forms and notifications, even in English in many countries, are written in a language which need simplification in order to be accessible to the English knowing public.[14] Many of our forms and notifications, which are not originally drafted in Indian languages but are translations from English are not even comprehended by highly educated native speakers. Even those which are so drafted reflect a literary style which is neither colloquial nor functional. Therefore, it must be understood that the content and language both must be graded to carry the learner through successive skills while maintaining their relevance and creativity. This presupposes a team work in which a linguist is an indispensable member.

When we think of adult education often it is considered to be connected with writing and reading. Since everybody speaks a language, spoken activity is completely ignored in the scheme of things. The difference between the home language and the spoken standard is often glossed over. It must not be forgotten that India has a 2000 years old tradition of oral transmission of knowledge. The traditional learning laid emphasis on proper intonation and articulation. There is no reason why attention should not be given to representation, disputation and refutation of views leading to the establishment of a point of view. In fact this should be considered a pre-condition to any literacy activity. In any case through dialogue it is not only possible to establish a personal bond between the teacher and the learners, but also lay the foundation of problem sharing and culture sharing. Very little research has been conducted about the structure of oral presentation in the formal class room, the radio and under more non-formal conditions. The research conducted by the Coimbatore Agriculture University[15] tends to indicate that there is more similarity in the structure of the classroom presentation and the presentation by the radio. This may be because the radio presentation is first written and then read. The linking of the oral structures to reading and writing must also engage the attention of linguists.

A question is often asked about testing those who pass through adult literacy programmes. In such situations the word 'assessment' should be used to include besides testing such observation techniques as rating and evaluation of the total learning outcome to reflect developmental changes. This also requires formulation of the goals of literacy in a more meaningful manner. Functional literacy in terms of UNESCO norms was considered to be equivalent to education of the level of Class-V. But in the circumstances where the emphasis is on non-formality, the specifications of goals has to be spelled out in terms of skills, learner's confidence level, creative interpretations of a stimulus, problem solving ability etc. This is the only way to ensure fairness of assessment of both individuals and groups in a pluralistic society.

Terms such as molivators, animators facilitators are being freely used in connection with adult education. Following the Indian tradition in this regard some have even suggested a three tier organisation where a motivator is the programme incharge whereas the facilitator is the teacher. Those in charge of adult education must ensure that the new labels are not used to either maintain status quo or smuggle in the formal classroom authoritarianism. Malcolm Knowles, developing the concept of Androgogy[16], describes it as the 'art and science of helping adults to learn'. Androgogy has also been termed as 'A Technology of Involvement'. This involvement on the part of both organisers and learners is crucial to the success of an adult education programme. This is the biggest challenge before the educationists and linguists of this country today.

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3

LANGUAGES IN THE CONTEXT OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Language use in the context of Non–formal Education has assumed importance as (a) Literacy which forms an indispensable component of Non–formal Education for adults is essentially a language related task and (b) Language is the most important medium of communication of ideas. In the context of multiplicity of languages, dialects, styles and registers in the country, it has not only become imperative to take a correct choice of the variety of language to be used for instant communication, but also link this language with the process of standardisation taking place in various languages at various levels.

It is important to be clear about the strategies of language learning before venturing into the task. As an adult person who is going to learn language through non-formal education already has mastery over a variety of spoken language, the major problem for him is to relate the language to the writing conventions of the language. At this stage the following types of problems can be visualised :

(a) Non-literate languages for which either a script is to be devised or adopted pose serious problems before a literacy worker. Tribal languages amd minor non-tribal languages come under this category. The first problem they meet is the choice of a script. The question whether to use the script of the dominant regional language, Nagari, Roman or a specially designed script has to be answered by them. Problems of writing length, stress, tone etc., have to be sorted out and problems of spelling need to be solved before any material is produced in these languages.

(b) Languages like Tamil where there is considerable divergence between spoken, read and written forms pose a different set of problems. It may further be mentioned that in this language spoken forms are almost never written using the Tamil alphabet.

(c) Language like Telugu where textbooks used to be invariably written in a style which is almost never spoken present yet another set of problems. It may be mentioned that a decision has been taken to switch over from the written Granthika style to the spoken standard Sista Vyavaharika style in a phased manner in 5 years. Following this decision, although the switch over has been effected to some extent at the higher levels, the gap between the primary and the post-primary is considerable. The primary books continue to be in ihe Granthika style.

(d) Situations like Kuvi, or Gondi where there is considerable dialect variation in a smaller area, production of material which is acceptable in the entire language speaking area, however small, has its own problems which need to be solved.

(e) Situations in places like Koraput in Orissa, Ranchi in Bihar where large number of small aggregates of tribal and non-tribal people use Desia, a dialect of Oriya in the first place, and Sadri or Sadni, a dialect of Hindi in the second place as communication languages, there is a three step movement from mother-tongue to communication language to the standard, which has to be taken note of by any one interested in non–formal education.

(f) Situations like Nagaland, where the existence of a large number of mutually unintelligible languages, and a pidgin contact language has led to the use of a foreign language completely unrelated to either as the language of education and administration present a different set of problems.

(g) Speakers of languages like Tulu, and Konkani where Kannada in the first place and Kannada, Marathi and Malayalam in the second are used as culture languages, i.e., language for communication in practically all areas other than home communication pose yet another set of problems.

The above illustrative list which focusses attention on some of the dimensions other than the better known dimensions like dialect variation etc. would justify advanced research not only about problems relating to making choics of varieties of languages to be used but also problems relating to implementing this choice once it is made. In implementing the teaching of writing and reading, for example, different kinds of problems would have to be solved in different cases.

Once the choice of the script is made the way of presenting the script and relating to the spoken word would assume importance. Methods such as phonic method, word method, sentence method etc. have been suggested by various experts in this context. The Central Institute of Indian Languages, for example, after closely scrutinising the other available methodology and taking into consideration

their strong points and inadequacies has developed its own method of presentation based on the twin principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation. The Institute has also prepared a film for learning Devanagari and filmstrips for learning Bengali and Urdu scripts. A lot more research needs to be done in this area.

Vocabulary presents another broad area of research. As initial literacy is bound to be functional, courses which would cater to the specific needs of people have to be developed. The Andhra Sahitya Academy, under the title of "Vrutti Pada Kosa", has brought out several volumes of professional terminology used in different regions of Andhra Pradesh. Similar projects need to be undertaken in other areas and other languages. In any case quick surveys need to be done about functional vocabulary which is available with the people for whom the courses are designed. The CIIL has compiled 'Recall Vocabulary' in all major languages other than Hindi which represents vocabulary in active command of educated native adult speakers of a language. Similar diagnostic studies may have to be done in the rural areas.

The proverbs, folk tales, folk songs, etc., should be utilised for transmitting contents to the target areas concerned in an interesting manner.

It is important to recognise that good grammars of even the major languages are not available today. Without this grading of material into levels could be wellnigh impossible. In case of minor languages and tribal languages the situation is still worse. Instant grammatical analysis has to be simultaneously undertaken for target areas, where grammars are non-existent.

The content to be transmitted for a farmer's literacy programme, for a programme of workers education, for programmes for 15 to 25 age group and for weaker sections of the society are bound to dictate the use of different standards. Very often translations have to be resorted to from English or Hindi into other Indian languages. Translation requires considerable ability in manipulating both the source and target languages. A lot of Hindi material which is translated from English becomes almost unintelligible to Hindi speakers because of closely following the English syntax. This aspect also needs to be looked into by the linguistic experts.

Use of audio-visual media such as films, radio and TV add entirely new dimensions of communication. Radio in particular where dependence is entirely on the spoken word has to rely heavily on the language experts to ensure immediate

communication. Since film and TV combine visual with the audio-material there is considerable scope for building bridges between different kinds of speech.

Thus it would be seen from the illustrative list above that whether it is teaching reading and writing or using language for transmitting ideas, messages and information language has a pivotal role in non-formal education. Difference between home language and school language has been responsible for a good deal of wastage and stagnation in the formal education system. If non-formal education does not ensure instant communication and simultaneously build bridges which would permit a person to move into self study in the areas of his interest then the very purpose of non-formal education would have been defeated.

4

BILITERACY FOR ADULT EDUCATION OF THE MINORITY

In the context of Adult Literacy the concept of minority is of very special interest. People speak of religious minorities, linguistic minorities, cultural minorities, and minorities in many different senses. Usually the notion of minority is differentiated from that of the majority or the dominant. But one must understand that when we are talking of minority education we are not talking of a marginality of Indian population which is distinguished from the majority, but we are talking of something more important and more serious.

A quick survey of the totality of the linguistic scene of the country reveals that according to the 1961 Census there are 1652 mothertongues. The 1971 Census does not give the inventory of mothertongues. But it is not the number of mother-tongues which is important because many of these are non-linguistic identity tokens. Many language varieties included in this list are very closely related or are mutually intelligible, are grouped into about 700 and odd languages which can be broken into four or five language families written in ten major script systems and many minor ones. What is probably of utmost importance is that the country is covered by a network of small communication zones and even among the regional majorities, there are aggregates of people forming islands of minorities.

In the country where education is so structured that an infinitesimally small number is the beneficiary of the system, it is important to understand the concept of minority in the particular context of Adult Education. Institutionalised education in India is the privilege of a few and it will be worthwhile to know how it has become so.

We have 50% of the world's total population of illiterates, i.e., out of 800 crores we have nearly 400 crores. 70% of the total population of the country is illiterate. Out of the 30 who are literate very few are schooled (though not

necessarily uneducated). Not all the children who are eligible to go to school get a chance to do so. Of those who get a chance to go to school, 88% drop out by the end of the 5th standard and of those who pass the 5th standard only 30% ultimately pass the secondary stage. Out of those who come to Universities, only 1.8% come from socially weaker sections of the society. India is a country of 'socially weaker sections' with 56% of the people living with perpetual misery below the poverty line. Therefore, the formal educational structure is beneficial only to a very small number of people for whom education acts as a passport to rank, status and wealth in the society.

In the whole sphere of education, talking of minorities, one must understand that here is the real minority, the privileged minority, which uses a dominant language and imposes this dominance on the rest of the country which comes under its sphere of influence. So when one talks of minority education or adult education it must be seen in this larger context and in the context of marginality of the people who are differentiated from the so called majority. Perhaps more statistics would help to understand this phenomenon of minority and majority. If one looks at the linguistic scene of India, one will find that Hindi is a superrodinate language, which includes large number of mother tongues within itself. In one form or other it is understood only by 40 or 42 per cent of the population of the whole country. So in the total context, even Hindi is a minority language. The next two languages which compete with each other, depending on the population figures, viz., Bengali and Telugu, constitute only 8% each of the population. Thus, even these dominant major languages are in fact minority languages in the totality of the context of the country. Still each one of them claims to be dominant in a certain region. Then, if one looks at the different States of the country, one will find that States like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal show a pattern where a dominant language is being used by 85% of the population. Then there is a second picture where the States like Assam, Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan present a pattern where the dominant language is used by 32 or 33 per cent people. The third paftern is presented by such States as Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland etc., where the highest returns for any one language are only about 17%. These are the three general patterns which emerge in the general contexts of the country. If one is interested in planning for the minority education, one has to keep these three things in view.

Before going into the factor of language let us take a closer look at the social structure in order to understand and determine the content, structure and the

methodology to be used in the field of adult education for these minorities. I will make a few statements to provoke further discussion.

The first statement is that 'India is not merely a pluralistic society but a socially stratified aggregate'. The distinction in the social structure between pluralistic society and the socially stratified aggregate society is parallel to the distinction between dominant monolingualism and multilingualism. It is not as though something one in the past has been split into many parts or the dominant one has grudgingly tolerated a few intruders, but varieties of languages, cultures and entities after maintaining autonomous identities for long are structurally incorporated into one unit. In this unit there are deeply segmented aggregates of people belonging to different ethnic groups, speaking of different languages and with different cultural traditions. The segmentation in the society is intensified because of a variety of reasons. This segmentation is not a static affair. There is a constant restructuring going on within one society. There is an excellent example of four groups of Sindhis that were separated by consent due to social necessities. One can also take the example from Orissa where three groups, Koran, Kshatriya and Khandayat are unified almost by consent. If one studies the census reports, the shifting loyalties of groups of people towards Hindi and Punjabi will provide get another dimension to the issue under discussion. This structuring and restructuring is a continual process. Therefore people who claim that the country is going to fall apart if this difference is recognised, are aliens to their own system. They do not try to understand their own system in its own terms but would like to do so in terms of Euro-American models which do not quite fit in here. The segmentation is intensified because of migration and because of economic reasons. This is a kind of thing which would explain why one-seventh of Kannadigas are outside the State of Karnataka, or why there are 17 lakhs of Hindi speakers in the city of Bombay, or there are various language minorities existing in different parts of the country. These are the cases of diversity by mutual agreement for maintaining separate identity. This also happens in the case of detribalization and creation of new castes. Those who are involved in the study of political science, economics, sociology and anthropology know that there is a caste-tribe continuum and that when the tribes become detribalized they join the lowest rung of the caste system irrespective of their status in their tribal milieu. Such phenomena cause diversity to be more intensified. The religious divisions and conversions are also responsible for this intensification of diversity. In our country we have a wrong belief that only Muslims and Christians are communal and Hindus are never communal,

and that only the Muslims are engaged in breaking of temples and the Hindus can never be blamed for this kind of fault. It is wrong because people have not read their own history. History gives evidence that even Harsha had an officer whose designation was *mandira utpātana nāyaka* 'one who breaks temples'. And Harsha was a Hindu monarch. Looking at history through the eyes of historians who have given dictionaries of Hindu vs. Muslims, Christians vs. non-christians, tribal vs. non-tribals etc. and developing belief structures as the above is in no small measure responsible for the maintenance of differences and divergences. Then there is the emergence of new dialects and sociolects, which intensifies the process of creation of new classes and also of class-caste coalescence. For example, when upper class is highly schooled and gets a passport to economic privileges of the country, there is a case of coalescence of upper class and upper caste interests. Naturally the lower class people would try to stand on their own identity and try to join the economic interests with their caste labels.

Unless these things are understood and a rapport is established with people with divergent and multiple identities, it will not be possible to start an effective adult education programme. Whether one looks at issues from the perspective of cultural pluralism, or national unity or whether one sees it from the point of view of preservation and propagation of cultural values or the cultural dimensions of development, one is forced to take note of the linguistic mutiplicity.

This linguistic multiplicity in the country brings forth another dimension of discussion mentioned on the passing earlier. India has always been a country of small zone communication. The communication zones have never been big. There was seldom a case of mass communication. This whole discipline of mass communication and mass media in theory and practice, have developed under the influence of dominant monolingualism. It is not a feature of multilingualism multiethnicism and multiculturalism, nor of a country which is identified by small zone communication. In spite of such textured diversity the prescribed super-ordinate and subordinate structure arrangement is sought to be imposed at various levels partly due to ignorance of the tradition and partly due to propagation of linear relationship between under-developed, and developed and partly because of the desire to legitimise and maintain the vested interests. This leads to the dominance of a master culture and a minority cultural complex.

The nature of the relationship of the dominant and minority can be looked at from the interlingual point of view or from the intralingual point of view. From

the interlingual point of view one can see it at the national level and also at the regional level. At the national level the operation of the superordinate master culture or language works in two directions, one opinion wants us to think that the one language which is superordinate, the most dominant and is of international significance is English, and the other opinion says it to be Hindi. At the regional level also one can see the prominence of the dominant language as opposed to the many smaller languages. In order to understand the position of the other languages at the regional level, let us take a look at some of the typical situations. In Karnataka Kannada is the official language as Hindi is in Bihar. But in Karnataka there is a sizeable number of Tamil speakers, Urdu speakers, Marathi speakers, Tulu speakers, Badaga speakers etc. But this reality is lost sight of due to the implicit acceptance of superordinate and subordinate relationship. Even those who are actually engaged in Adult Education have also failed to recognise this because they seem to take these languages as undifferentiated and try to justify the neglect of small languages in terms of administrative convenience.

From the intralingual angle or from the language specific point of view, there is the question of standard and non-standard. One can think of these parameters on which standard and/non-standard differ.

1. Standard variety has a larger phonemic inventory than any non-standard variety ;
2. Standard has more grammatical categories than any non-standard variety ;
3. Standard in the Indian context has more 'tatsama' elements and therefore has a high style of writing than the common and spoken form of language.

If these nuances are not taken into consideration in the production of materials and in the approach to various groups the whole programme will fail because one cannot make any headway. On the other hand one need not be unnecessarily exercised about the existence of so many groups if one knows the relationship between the groups and between the varieties and one can easily prepare the materials in a manner acceptable to more groups than one.

The Gram Swasthya Sahayak Manual was written in Delhi in 'Shuddha Hindi'. It has been demonstrated by a linguistic group in Delhi University who looked into the communicability aspect of this manual that this is not communicable even in

5

the Hindi region. The same thing is happening in other language areas also. In the Hindi case, a clear understanding of factors inhibiting communication led to the rationalisation of the manual. Work has yet to begin in the case of non-Hindi languages in this regard. One cannot talk of minority education and particularly of adult education among the minorities unless one understands the ethos of multi-lingualism.

It is important to know the different types of contexts in India and how these can be categorised so that the nature of the problem and the prospects of solution can be understood.

The first category is constituted of the non-literate language groups. For these groups either a script has to be devised or adapted. In most of the cases it is advisable to adapt a script rather than devise one because as it is there are already too many scripts even to provide the modern means of printing, typing, telegraphy etc. The tribal languages or minor non-tribal languages which are unwritten pose a major problem for the education of these groups.

The second category languages, where matters are not read and spoken as they are written, pose a different kind of problem. Here you write in one way, read it in a second way and speak it in a third way. For example, in Tamil one writes /pāṭam/, reads it as /pāḍam/ and speak it as /pāḍō̃/. Similarly one writes /varahiren/ and speak /vare/. In Assamese one writes /ciṭibach/ but reads as /Siṭibas/ 'city bus'. Every language has specific conventions of reading but what is important is to understand the nature of the problem for the purpose of designing suitable educational and adult education programmes.

A third category of problems is presented by a language like Telugu where one gets different stylistic differentiations. In Telugu 'Grānthika' style in which the books are written is woefully out of date and is not used for the spoken purposes. Now, a transition is being effected from Grānthika to 'Shiṣṭa Vyāvahārika', the spoken colloquial standard. Where the difference between the written standard and the spoken standard is such that written standard is not spoken by anybody and the spoken standard is seldom used in written form, it is a situation entirely different from the above.

Then one can take situations like that of Kuvi, Gondi or such other language areas where every five miles or so there is a difference in the spoken language. It is the natural propensity of an adult education worker to go to one such place, get one informant and on the basis of the information prepare the literacy mateiral.

Such material naturally does not reflect the differences that are signalled by the difference in speech behaviour of the people.

The fifth category is the situation like one has in Koraput on Andhra-Orissa Border or one in Ranchi in Bihar. In Koraput there is Desia, which is a contact language among large number of tribals speaking different languages. It is a pidgin language, a dialect of Oriya, which is also the contact language among the tribal and non-tribal language speakers. In Ranchi there is Sadari or Sadni, which is a pidgin language which is a contact language among lots of people in that region. Nagamese, which is a pidgin language and which is accepted as contact language among 22 accepted languages of Nagaland also falls in this category.

There is another category of people who are akin to these above but are different in some sense. Among these people there is one language at home and in major domains of use another language is used. For example there are the Tulu speakers in Karnataka where the home language is restricted to intimate use and for all practical purposes the dominant language Kannada is used as the culture language of these people. Such is the case of Konkani speakers who use Marathi, Kannada or Malayalam in public domains.

These are the kinds of situations one is concerned with and these provide with some idea of the structure of multilingualism existing in the country and the functions of various languages in different domains. But when one talks to people who produce textbooks, they show greater concern for the figures of number of copies printed and distributed. It so happens that whether people learn or not is nobody's business. If one goes to the University, those people say that they cannot do anything because schools do not prepare the children well. The schools argue that primary schools are not doing their work. The primary schools find themselves helpless because they claim that the parents gave birth to such children. Now the parents cannot go further back. So it has become a vicious circle. Whatever education exists in the conntry has either become nobody's business or everybody's business. It is more so with Adult Education. we are not clear whether adult education is an alternative to formal education or is it complementary to formal education. Many people think that these people who cannot go to schools are to be given adult education and therefore it is complementary to formal education. Even now when the Directorate of Adult Education has made it clear through many publications, there are still many people who claim that following the 1953 UNESCO position, the aim of adult education should be attaining a level equivalent

to the 5th standard. This problem of education for the minorities can be viewed from two stand points, Adult Education and Formal Education. Let us first take the formal education. What kind of strategy would be appropriate for the formal education in the multilingual context. Here it is important to talk of the transfer model of bilingual education in the formal education structure. The rationale is very simple. If one teaches a student upto the 5th standard in his mother tongue, which is of course a constitutional obligation, and then start the abc of the other language the situation can become difficult. Therefore the suggestion is to make the primary education bilingual. Bilingual education in this country, unfortunately, means different things to different people. Some think that when two languages are used as subjects in school it is bilingual education, while others think that when both languages are used as medium then it is bilingual education.

The view developed by the CIIL is that in the transfer model of bilingualism we start the education in the home language of the learner and impart the reading and writing skills of the language which he already khows. Simultaneously we start teaching the spoken form of the language which is the school language. The skill of reading and writing is then transferred to this other language which he learnt as spoken language. In this process at the beginning stage 80 % of the time is spent in reading and writing of the home language and the position is reversed by giving 80% or the time to the reading and writing of the school language, or the language of the higher education. This transfer model is proposed as a strategy to meet the demands of a multilingual and multiethnic and multicultural society. In the non-formal sector also the strategy remains the same by following the principle of biliteracy. The minority language speaker is first made literate in his home language. Then the literacy is transferred to the language of wider communication.

I am a little excited when people talk of motivation. They talk about motivation as if it is a white man's burden or an educated man's burden to motivate the people. It is assumed that they are not at all motivated and therefore something must be forced on them. It has become a burden because the functionaries cannot get their share unless enough people are motivated to come to classes The whole business of discussing motivation seems a little bit disgusting. If one understands the ethos and the issues then means would be available to establish rapport with people. We can ascertain their needs and through trained social scientists it is also possible to observe and supplement their list of needs. The adult education curriculum can thus be based on the expressed needs of the people.

Even if it is granted that there is the problem of motivation the greatest barrier to motivation is the language that is being used. In the class room situation by deni-trating the home language as non-standard and incorrect a low self-image in the child is created which he carries all through his education system. Similarly in this case by using a language which he does not use in his day to day affairs, teachers are trying to tell him something which is absolutely useless for him. He will not have any interest in the thing which does not have any relevance to his immediate context. So literacy must be started in the home language. But it should only start and not end in that language, if the home language does not have the right type of follow up material. Of many people who have become literate, a large number have lost literacy because of the lack of follow up material. Therefore literacy in home language has to be transferred to literacy in the language of the office, law courts, banks etc. Language used in such wider domains may be called the standard language. But whatever name one might give it, the home language literacy should be transferred to the language used in education, administration and mass media. Therefore for the minorities one has to follow the method of biliteracy. For example if in one area people want to have literacy in Maithili and Hindi or if in Tanjore Marathi speakers want to be educated in Marathi as well as in Tamil, there is no reason why a strategy cannot be devised to make them literate in both the languages specially if we have to make largest number of people literate.

It is in this context thaf the totality of minority education has to be seen. Minority education is to be viewed not in terms of marginal population only, but even in terms of speakers of dominant languages who are in minority elsewhere, and the various categories outlined earlier. It should be made clear that the aim of adult education is not to legitimise the vested interests of those people who have come through schools and control the economy and governmental structure. It is the search for an alternative system. In this context biliteracy is not an expansive luxury, nor is it a strategy for appeasement, but it is a necessary step in making the minority functionally literate and educated.

5

READING, LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Bacon, in the essay 'Of studies' writes 'Reading maketh a full man ; conference maketh a ready man ; writing maketh an exact man.' Thus reading, intelligent conversation and attention and comprehension are preconditions of a refined man. In the present age of explosion of knowledge and information accelerated reading with comprehension has almost become sine qua non with an efficient man.

Reading is essentially a language related process of communication—unlike the oral communication which moves from the speaker to the hearer, in the case of reading, the communication is from the writer to the reader. Since speech is evanescent, writing provides for displaced communication. In modern times voice recording permits of displaced communication but this being essentially a speaker-to-hearer communication is qualitatively different from writing and reading.

Both writing and reading presuppose oral mastering of sounds and speech events in a language. Even if one is acquainted with the phonemic and graphemic inventories in a language in isolation, without the knowledge of phonemic graphemic fit one is greately handicapped in reading. French—*fille*, English—*Psycho*, Hindi—*Kahnā*, Assamese—*ciṭibāch* or Tamil—*pāṭam* will be difficult to read without knowledge of phonemic graphemic fit in the respective languages. As there is no one to one correspondence between sounds, units and letters in any natural language, it is important to know how different sounds are represented by one letter and different letters represent one sound. It is necessary to stress here that even if several languages are written using a single script, their values may be different in different languages. Thus *j* is *j* in English, *h* in Spanish, and *y* in German ; similarly Sanskrit *jn* is *dny* in Marathi, *gn* in Hindi and *gya* in Oriya. The value of English *a* is different in words like *fat, fate, fast, fall* is different as much as the English *a* is expressed in spellings like *fall, fought, fo m,* etc. The divergence in English spellings

and pronunciation is somewhat exaggerated in the comment, 'Englishmen may write *ghoti* and read it as 'fish;' as *gh* in 'rough', *o* in 'women', and *ti* in 'station' will give the appropriate sound value for such reading. Two points have clearly emerged from this discussion : (1) Phonemic graphemic fit has to be studied in terms of each language structure ; and (2) as there is no phoneme across language, there could be no interlingual phonemic graphemic fit.

Both the mothertongue teacher who is entrusted with teaching initial reading and writing and the second language teacher who is called upon to effect an early 'transfer' of skills are blissfully unaware of all these dimensions of reading. They are unaware of the phonetic considerations inherent in the traditional ordering of the alphabet as well as of the pedagogic presentation in terms of shape similarity. As a result they let the learner fumble through the alphabet.

Vocabulary is a major factor in developing facility in reading and writing. The 500 most commonly used English words have 14,000 meanings listed in the Oxford English Dictionary. It is not enough to recognise a word in isolation in its most common meaning, it is important to know its use in context. One of the reasons of poor reading ability is the lack of emphasis on vocabulary acquisition.

As the phonetic space in different languages is filled differently by similar or different sounds the semantic space is also organised equally differently. For example the Semantic space occupied by *Namaste* or *Namaskāra* in an Indian language is filled by 'Good morning', Good day', 'Good afternoon, 'Good evening', 'Good night', 'How do you do', 'Hi', 'Hallo' and 'Good bye' etc. Reading is facilitated to the extent one is familiar with the contextual and cultural meaning of words. It is not sufficient to know the isolated meaning of the *tu, tum, ap, ja, jao* and *jaiye* in Hindi. It is also not enough to know the grammatical rule combining *tuja, tum jao, ap jaiye*. Without knowing the social context of their use one may be handicapped. For example *tuja* used for a senior, a person of higher status, may indicate insult. Similarly *ap jao* may either refer to a non-standard usage or a parent-child communication in certain conditions. Good reading presupposes good command over all aspects of the language.

When one says one is re-reading Shakespeare, it is with a view to increase one's command of vocabulary and through it a better grasp of the dramatic situation. When King Lear speaks of himself as a 'fond foolish old man,' the meaning of 'fond' may have escaped the reader in the first reading. On a careful second reading one may find that the word 'fond' is used in the meaning 'foolish' and this

gives a better insight to the understanding of Shakespearean time and his characters. While reading one is not only confronted with the problem of historical meaning but also with cultural complexity in current usage. Thus if one is not familiar with the cultural import of items like *jhutha*, *sindur* and *pān*, then one is bound to be slowed down. In the use of vocabulary there are also other dimensions which a good reader must be aware of—collocation is one such area. Assuming that Language X has pairs of words such as *pani*, *jal*, and *dat*, *danta* one must be able to anticipate their usage and the elements to follow. For example, while in Hindi one would say *pinekā pāni*, 'drinking water', one would say *ganga jal* 'Ganges water' (to indicate sacredness) and while one would say *Danta cikitsā* using somewhat high style, given *dat* one would expect *dāt kā ilāj* in a spoken colloquial style. The better one controls vocabulary in language in all its sociocultural nuances and its usage in different linguistic contexts, it will be seen from the above examples, that one is likely to be a better reader.

It would be stating the obvious to say that one does neither speak nor read mere words. Reading letter by letter or word by word is inefficient reading as they stand as a barrier to the expression of completed sense. Since the aim of both oral and written expression is to comunicate, the sentence is to be accepted as the unit of discourse. Thus it will be clear by now that phonic method, alphabetic method, syllabic method, word method, sentence method or story method is inadequate by itself. First of all, the first three of the above methods have no reference to meaning. Secondly, no one of these methods is adequate to teach reading to children, adults, bright, slow, dialect speakers and the speech handicapped. An eclectic method which combines different approaches to reach the stated goal of communication most efficiently in the least possible time is to be sought.

Punctuation is relatively new to Indian languages. In the olden days whole discourses were written without a comma or a full stop. What intonation is to the spoken language, punctuation is to the written. 'What do you have for dinner mother ?' 'What do you have for dinner, mother ? would mean two different things. It need not be pointed out that the second sentence is absurd. How wrong punctuation can change meaning can be seen from the following Bengali hoarding:

Ekhāna prisrā kariben. nā karile pancās ṭākā jorimānā.

The full stop was intended to be given after *na*, but by mistake it was put before the word and conveyed exactly the opposite of what was intended. It must however, be understood that whether it was in olden days or in the present time

people did and do use linguistic cues such as positioning of verbs, collocational restrictions etc., for purposes of reading with comprehension without reference to punctuation.

Another aspect of the reading situation needs attention here. Tradition has made textbook a master in the classroom. The teacher concerns himself to get the children to read textbooks, where reading is confined to the verbal levels. Transmutation of the book knowledge to be part of one's living experience is lacking in the process. A Reader instead of giving practice to the child of the elements already learnt, acts as something to be read without any reference either to the formal structure and content or to the home language experience. In the absense of any material other than the textbook to be read and in face of the conviction that there is everything in the textbook, teacher remains firmly rooted to the prescribed textbook and the whole purpose of language learning is frustrated. In one of my exploratory trips in the Jenu Kuruba areas of Karnataka, children of Classes II, III and IV when asked to read a page from their Kannada textbook in turn asked whether they should read with the books open or books closed. When asked to read with the book closed, the child went on reciting the page. They said that they had 'byhearted' all the pages. In ancient times there was great emphasis on memorisation and memory training as word of mouth was the only means of transmitting texts in the absence of faculty of reproduction of written texts and their wider distribution. That in the present time when printing has revolutionised communication, the teachers would equate memorisation with reading is strange. Such experiences are common almost in all parts of the country and stand as examples of faulty primary education.

Reading also presupposes compatibility between the variety of language known and the variety of language read. This is particularly a problem for those whose home language is different from the school language. Research has shown that black English speakers in America when confronted with English material written primarily in standard white American English tend to ignore features not present in their variety. In India the speakers of dialects, while reading material in the standard language, tend to bring in dialect features at the time of initial reading. The most well known example of diverse reading is provided by Chinese, where any written material is read diversely by different dialect speakers following their own norm. It will thus be seen that the problem of compatibility has been sought to be resolved either by forcing the standard without reference to immediate develop-

mental and communicational problems or by maintaining unity through the written symbol in the face of diversity of spoken forms. Both of these have their educational problem. What is being argued here is a conscious bilingual bidialectal transfer model for those whose home language is different from the school language, which will exploit the resources of their home language, ensure instant communication, and will ensure a smooth transition to the standard without creating an identity crisis.

Very little research has been conducted in India about aspects of reading Although Kannada is read from right to left and Urdu from left to right and there is a sizable population reading both the languages in Karnataka, very little information is available about the difficulty encountered by them. It is also not known to what extent the reversal of eye movement affects the speed of reading. There are no national studies giving silent vs oral reading indices for various levels of education. There is no training to eliminate vocalisation, sub-vocalisation, body movement and such other factors which are barriers to accelerated reading. In a multilingual country like India, reading competence in a number of supplementary languages will be needed. Efficient reading in the first language can make a person a good reader in other languages. However unless language curriculums are modified to teach languages on a scientific basis and reading as a skill is emphasised, the purposes for which languages are taught and learnt are not likely to be attained.

6

ORAL COMPONENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

The topic for discussion is 'Oral component in adult literacy'. The title, I believe, should be 'oral component In adult education' and not in adult literacy. An oral component in adult education would imply that literacy is an instrument of adult education and the oral component is complementary to it. The title 'oral component in literacy' would mean using the spoken style in written text for literacy purposes. I shall try to touch both the aspects.

One has to take into account the adult education instructor, the subjects who are exposed to adult education and the social settings in which the adult education is being offered in order to appreciate the interrelationship between the strategy and goal of adult education. It must be understood that in most cases the adult education worker is not a friend or colleague of many years standing of the subjects and therefore any conversation among the instructor and the subjects is not uninhibited. If one observes an adult education session, one will find that there is little interruption of the instuctor. There is an attitude of deference towards him. Even the individuals do not interrupt each other in the presence of the instructor. There is little laughter, gossip and almost no narrative which indicates the distance between the educated or semi-educated instructor and the subjects undergoing adult education.

In the actual social settings there are closed net works (Gumperz 1964) of people who normally interact socially. They could be adolescent peer groups (Labov 1968), groups of women, groups of old men, groups of fellow workers or fellow religionists. Someone approaching these groups from outside has to understand the rules of the game. For example, he must make up his mind whether he is approaching these groups as an interviewer or as a conversationalist. Most

people know that interviews involve question-answer. When they are questioned about things they give an answer which may or may not be true, as from their experience they have learnt that such question answers seldom yield any results. Many research groups these days approach the different sections of the populace with survey instruments in which questionnaire forms a major component. The question answer rule of Interview prevents introduction of topics of narratives. Narratives, if any, are short and to the point and introduced by the interviewer rather than by the subject. On the other hand conversation implies greater solidarity between the conversationalists, the functionary and the sublect. It implies elaboration and promotes emphasis of specific part of the story. Narrative is related to and inspired by the topic under discussion and the subject provides the occasion for narratives. Narratives build a little drama, describe emotion, build suspense and challenge imagination. In an interview people speak uncomfortably whereas in conversation people are at ease. It is in this context that Labov's statement "It means that social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal behaviour, (Labov 1970, *Logic of Non Standard English*, Georgetown Monograph 22 page 11) makes sense.

There are several strategies by which one initiates a conversation. One such strategy is to establish a putative kin relationship with the person addressed to māmā kākā, behen, ajā, piusā, mausā, buājān, bhāiju, chāchā are some of the addresses more popularly used. This immediately endears the person speaking to the person spoken to, even if they are unknown to each other. This also determines the formality or otherwise of the situation. Each language and each ethnic group has its rules of address. Wolfson rightly says that, "this again points out the fact that the distribution of power and/or solidarity among participants in a conversation is always an important determinant of their verbal behaviour." (Speech Events and Natural speech : Some Implications for sociolinguistic methodology. *Language in Society* Vol. 5 No. 2 p. 198). Such power and/or solidarity is expressed in the use of pronouns and other linguistic markers. In Hindi *tū tum* and *āp* indicating familiar, polite and honorific are exploited in a language specific way which has no parallel in other languages. For example, combination of the verbal endings of the *tum* form with *āp* yields *āp jao* which marks either a variety of Hindi (Punjabi Hindi) or a specific domain of usage (Parent child communication or intimate formality). In addition, Hindi uses an infinitival form which is neutral between solidarity and power (Roger Brown and Albert Gilman, The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity, in Joshua Fishman Ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, Mouton 1972). When-

ever there is hesitation about solidarity and about explicitly indicating power relation, forms like *jānā, lānā* are used in Hindi. While the *tu, tum* and *āp* forms indicate non-reciprocal power relation, the infinitival form is reciprocal. An understanding of the changing power relation in the context of swift social change taking place in India is a prerequisite for any one working in the field of adult education. Expression of power asymmetry through pronouns, name or last name in a fluid society can create tensions .which can inhibit communication. Brown and Gilman rightly point out that "we have noticed that mode of address intrudes into consciousness as a problem at times of status change." (*Ibid* pp. 267). Thus it will be seen that the use of an address term can signify the addressee to be equal or inferior, outsider or intimate, and thus either encourage or inhibit further contact and communication.

Martin Joos (1962, The Five Clocks, supplement 22 to *IJAL*, 28 Part V) speaks of the five major setting varieties, which he describes in terms of style types such as intimate, casual, consultative, formal and frozen. Since the participants in communication can be grouped in terms of their status and role relations, one can prepare a grid of the relative frequency of speaking by different groups. As Ervin-Tripp points out, while in informal small groups the roles of "sender" and "receiver" (Hymes 1962 "The Ethnography of Speaking" in T. Gladwyn and W. Sturtevant eds. *Anthropology and Human Behaviour*, Anthropological Society of Washington D.C.) may alternate, in a large group the least frequent speaker may get almost no chance to speak'. (Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener' in Joshua Fishman ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. In a face to face verbal encounter situation, if the most powerful and those with high status monopolise conversation, then the large majority are bound to freeze and lapse into a culture of silence. Therefore before even literacy is initiated contexual need based dialogue must be resorted to in order to draw this silent majority out to a stages of creative participation in the process of socio-economic changes.

A comment is in order about the culture of silence. The illiterate, if at all, suffer from this only in relation to the educated, the privileged and the powerful. This is not a deficiency in individual participants in this culture, but a symptom of exploitation of large majority of people by a small organised sector which has appropriated to itself the control of society. It is indicative of any assymetry of communication between the two sectors rather than a relationship of developed and deficient

abilities in the use of language. Insisting on one standard to suit large scale printing and mass media, this minority ruling elite has entered into a conspiracy to create patches of silent cultures. By naming it 'silent culture' as different from a vocal or conscientised culture, an impression of a uniform whole is attributed to the vastly divided populace, which also encourages a uniform solution and aids those who speak of mass culture and mass media. Blind adoption of such terms also indicates a poor understanding of the multilingual ethos.

The illiterates are neither always uneducated nor do they lack intelligence. Knowing the ways of the educated, whom they know to be casual visitors with a purpose, they have devised many verbal strategies to shield themselves from these chance encounters. Feigning ignorance, attributing greater intelligence to the visitor, pretending inability to express themselves are some such strategies. Adult educators unaware of such strategies often term their reticence to talk as the culture of silence. Such naivity only draws a delusive smile from the illiterate.

The long tradition of oral transmission of knowledge in the country emphasise one way delivery of discourse. There may have been occasional questioning to clarify difficulties but excepting among the pandits there was seldom an atomosphere where argumentation and refutation of a discourse by a commoner was permitted. In a socially stratified society where power was limited to the upper crust it is only natural that people will look upwards for direction, leadership and knowledge. It is therefore important that if an egalitarian society in a democratic framework is to be sustained, oral facility must be developed among the subjects with a view to enable them to represent, argue, refute and establish a point of view. Socially relevant topics should be chosen with a view to invlove the people in dialogue, Following are a few examples :

(a) should we work for greater accessibility to doctors or build a healthy society which has no need of doctors ?

(b) should we establish banks which would siphon the life force of the villages and use it for urban development or set up cooperative finance and credit societies locally which would ensure spending the accumulated capital for local development ?

(c) why is it that in spite of increase in the production of food grains and surplus in some areas there is food deficit in different parts of the country ?

(d) why is that in spite of talk about social equality the Harijan quarters are burnt down and the Brahmin youngmen who try to help them are beaten up by other Brahmins ?

(e) why is that although the total work force in the country is 240 millions only 40 millions in the organised sector get relatively more benefits and privileges ?

If such questions are discussed and debated and relevant news and views are read to them on the subjects of discussion, then there would be a natural inclination to read. If participants in the programme are encouraged to read instructions relating to the use of fertilisers. handouts regarding family care and family welfare, documents stating rules about bank loan, developmental subsidy etc., the programme need be deemed to have been a success. The most important thing here is to ensure that the language spoken and the language read are compatible.

It is a tragedy that people having little understanding of the nature and function of verbal communication in society are compaigning to teach the mother tongue to people. The structure of face to face interaction, where the audience is real and present, dictate a variety and style of language use which is different from the spoken language used in Radio and Television where the audience is assumed. The written language, even the spoken language written up for specific purposes, is still farther removed from a dialogue situation. The verbal and communicational strategies in these three situations are different. Unless these are properly analysed and the idiom of the common men appropriate to a situation is captured, there may be a lot of talking but very little communication, Therefore, in some sense it is an education for the 'educated' who are alienated from the day to day realities of their own society and are 'outsiders' to their own culture.

Adult education is not teaching the mothertongue, but teaching a philosophy of social change and social development through the mothertongue. It is not teaching a new variety of language, but extending the known variety to newer domains so that in the process the range of standard can be expanded and everybody participate in a communication network without necessarily loosing their identity. When one takes such an approach, one can clearly perceive the important role of oracy before literacy and the need to link the immediacy of the spoken forms with its remote use before linking it to the standard and the deviant.

Use of literacy tends to reduce the range of acceptabilily. Marjoria S. Zengel observes in a foot note; "Alongside the expansion of reading and writing skills in

the Anglo-American world in recent years, the freedom of variation honored by Sam Waller has been on the wane. In contrast, random selection of wrttten items in a language such as Yucatecan Maya, which still lacks a substantial iiterate tradition. exposes unconventionalised practice, for example uinic=winik." (Literacy as a factor in language change in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, p, 296–7).

This raises some very important questions. Does literacy bring the written language closer to the spoken by incorporating elements of the spoken language into the written or does it destroy the spoken language by denigrating it and building a low self image in the speaker ? In the latter case there is an imperfect attempt at emulating the standrad and creation of an inter language different from the written standard. In Tamil where at the present time there is conservatism at the phonological level but convergence between the spoken and the written at the morphological and syntactic levels, it would appear that by tolerating variations the written language is coming closer to the spoken. Thus vidu + ku yields two forms vittirku (remnant found in grammar books) and vittuku the spoken colloquial form. Both of them are now found in the written language. However, in the caso of unwritten languages, loss of variation is rapid and languages are lost even within a generation.

The question whether language of literacy should be closer to the spoken or to the written language is not a static question. Language changes are taking place very rapidly and therefore a solution has to be sought in the dynamics of the language situation In a multilingual context there cannot be one uniform answer to all questions. Small communication zones reflect social organisations different from dominant monolingual nation states. The concept of development is bound to be different in such cases Any attempt at distroying mother tongues in the name of education is bound to affect the very cultural fabric of the country, which in turn will not only reject education but the development strategy which foists such education in them. There are symptoms of this already visible in different parts of the country. Unless this warning is heeded adult education will go the same way as formal education, and become expensive and irrelevant.

Oral component in adult education is not merely the spoken component of what is written ; as much as the written language is not a mere graphization of spoken words and sentences. The oral component has a structure and an organization quite distinct from the written. The intonation and stress, the rythm and the voiced quality is not the same as reading. In every language it is possible to

posit rules which govern speaking and reading and the transition from one to the other.

Construction of a primer seems to have over-shadowed all activities in the field of adult education and yet for beginning literacy one can even do without a primer. There are experiments where theatre groups dramatize an issue and literacy with it. There are others who pick up emotionally surcharged words permeating the consciousness of a people and start literacy with it. These are bound to be different for different groups. The problems of a landless labourer, that of a share cropper, a slum dweller and an industrial labourer are not the same even if they speak the same language. Therefore, either to speak of a single primer, or to speak of mere literacy, as the only entrance to education in a multilingual, multi-cultural developing country is nothing but deceiving oneself.

7

CONTINUING EDUCATION : A NEW LOOK

Education in India is one of the cultural factors in the elite in the making. In a stratified society where people look to the top for guidance and where elite sets social norms to be emulated, there is no wonder that education will be at the apex of social values. Rank, status and wealth are consequent to education. In other words, the educated. however small be their number, form the upper crust of the Indian society. Therefore when people blame education for failures—political, economic and moral, there is nothing to be surprised about it.

Community-based Education :

About 46 % of the total population in the country are below the poverty line and 70% of the population is illiterate. The present institutional education offers little for the amelioration of the lot of the common man on either of the two counts. Educational planners offer more of the same thing inspite of the slogan of academic revolution. In fact, it is a strange spectacle that those who were the managers of education during the last quarter century are most vocal in denouncing the system and crying for a revolution

Education and Social Relevance :

Institutionalised education has been serving the need of a microscopic minority. This minority is formed out of the upper class and the upper middle class of the society. Even the lower middle class, not to speak of peasants and workers, does not have full access to higher education. Under these circumstances one would not be far from right if one questions the social relevance of education. The educated elite has degenerated into a hereditary aristocracy only incidentally catering to the needs of the community at large. On the other hand, the large bulk of the students from the lower strata of the society, who aspire admission into thik

new class, get estranged from their social base. In consequence the gulf between the social needs and what education can offer to meet these needs keeps on widening. The content of education has failed either to improve the quality of living or to provide an ideal to strive for. The educated and the highly educated therefore are qualified only for white collar jobs and the contradiction in the attitude of educational planners towards vocationalisation of education persists. There is no wonder that one simultaneously finds the demand for 'end of schooling' and anxiety more schooling.

Extension of the Existing Pattern

Lately there is a good deal of discussion about the open university, continuing education, correspondence courses and the like. Unfortunately, all such courses, wherever they have been experimentally started, have followed the usual university pattern. All of them are replicas of the conventional universities catering to the populist degree mania. None of the correspon-pondence courses or continuing education units have offered a course in further education which is not degree oriented, but a leisure time education either to improve the quality of life or to provide a specific skill to a person who wishes to undertake such a course. There is no course available for operatives, apprentices or intending craftsmen. There is no course to acquaint one with the problems of parenthood ; there is not one even to make somebody a better clerk. The omnibus dependence on the degrees for giving generalised and specialised orientation, even though has been proved wrong, still is resorted to.

Present day educational institutions have become both a battle–ground and a negotiating table between the generations. Inspite of the many differences among the generations, both are saturated with achievement ethics. In this sense, the demand for student participation in the decision making process of the educational system is an expression of the achievement orientation which the educated youth subcultures have borrowed from their elders. The elder managers, unable to cope with the changing times, find an escape in the continuing education. For them continuing education is certification with least botheration. It is also in most cases considered to be self paying education and consequently considered as liberal charity without investment.

A New Look :

Those seriously thinking about continuing education have to make up their mind as to whether their primary interest is education or certification without

instruction. If it is the former, then courses should be designed and offered to those who are academically ready for it without insisting on a degree as necessary qualification for entrance. The central aim of education should then be learning and not teaching ; instructions must be for creating abilities to meet the challenges of life and not merely for certification. It is well–known that drop–out is a major problem at all stages of education. None of the educational institutions address themselves to this problem. By accepting the academically ready and not insisting on formal degree as a prerequisite, not only the portals of education could be kept open for all those interested in it, and all those who need mid career training, but also the problem of drop-outs could be tackled meaningfully. Here is also an opportunity to experiment on the separation of the functions of education and certification. While one group of teachers could be engaged in producing instructional material another group of teachers could be employed for examination and certification. This way quality of both instruction and certification could be improved.

In height, depth as well as breadth current education is yestetday's education. it instructs one in things past but does not prepare one for meeting the future. The only justification for continuing education in this country could be given if it comes out of institutional constraints, meet the young and the old on the highway of life and provide them with a purpose, a vocation, and an ideal. If if continues to replicate the existing university order then it will only have a label without content.

8

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT : A CRITIQUE

The scholars and managers of non-formal education from the commonwealth countries who recently met in New Delhi could not have met in conditions better removed from the realities of illiteracy. Their remoteness from reality is further underscored when in his lead paper on Content, Teaching and Learning for Adult Illiterates John Bowers states that "with expansion of formal schooling in most countries, it is unlikely that any but the more remote rural communities now remain totally illiterate" (p. 3). Superposed cultural homogeneity and linguistic uniformity as cause of non-communication and a factor inhibiting literacy and non-formal education has received almost no attention from them. The elitist technocratic westernised orientation of the managers of society in most commonwealth countries aces in adult education a conflict with an alternate education system which seeks o destroy it. The system seems to be frantically trying to formalise, control and direct it to its advantage. Natural discussions about such confrontation finds no place in their deliberations.

Total literacy is said to be attempted in the USSR, Cuba and Tanzania. Under a centrally directed Government such efforts are linked up with total mobilisation of political and state apparatus. Appeal to emotive factors such as victory to socialism, serving the cause of Man etc., add to the success of the effort. Paulo Freire's 'conscientization' is essentially appealing to emotive factors such as banish-poverty, establish people's supremacy and the awakening of the critical interpretation of reality. Freire's mathodology involving the code, the generative theme and the generative word flows from this basic assumption. Those in the democratic west who have rejected the authoritarian system, are worried by the expensive, disfunctional and dividing formal education and the high cost, complexity of administration, near impossible problems of recruiting qualified teachers,

multiple languages in work oriented functional literacy programmes (UNESCO, The experimental World Literacy Programme: a critical Assessment, Paris, UNESCO and UNDP 1976) naturally find refuge in Freire. Freire can be meaningful only if the language dynamics of the communicational setting of multilingual societies is properly understood. Freire in a superposed language which is not the home language of people, dishing out upper and middle class values which are alien to the life style of people is as much an anachronism to the third world as the concerns which stem from predominantly monolingual experience.

Freire's methodology is rooted also in the internal and external motivation of the learner. Internal motivation is stated to be inherent in the programme and external motivation is related to rewards. Therefore more time is spent on the discussion of the format, the financial benefit to the learner and the cost and management of the programme rather than on the goal and contents. The scholars are content by saying that "The determination of the aims and content of the programme will be related to the political climate and the availability of personnel." (p. 7 CCNFED/3/L/2).

Alternately scholars have sought to change the focuss from economics to politics and argue that since the central purpose of development is the 'liberation of man' the emphasis should be on 'social equality, social justice and self reliance.' Julius Nyerere has been invoked in this connection. Nyerere says that, the purpose of education is the liberation of man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependancy, and therefore adult education and education in general should contribute to the kind of development that is 'for man by Man and of Man.' (Nyerere cited by O. Kasam). Like democracy and socialism, Man and Humanity are two much abused words. If this development for Man does not challenge the existing vested interest in the formal education which creates inequity and if it does not expose the economic consequences of formal education which is a burden on the developing society, then it is as irrelevant as the mechanistic economic and technological development. For example in India, where the education budget is second to the defence budget where 88 out of every hundred drop out at the end of primary education, where on an average 25 out of hundred pass school final examination, where less than 2% of university students come from the weaker sections of the society and where 56% of the population are below the poverty line so that education for them is a luxury, it is needless to point out that formal education creates inequity. It is also needless to point out that in a country with 1652

mothertongues when not even 50 are used as medium of primary education and 15 as medium of higher education, the difference between home language and school language will accentuate inequality. When such a country exports some 700 crores worth of trained manpower (UNCTAD study with 1971 as base line) to foreign countries, then what else, if not burden on the poor man is the expenditure on the production of exportable cheap labour for the industrially developed countries? Under these circumstances there is no escape from deschooling as propounded by Ellich or radical transformation of existing schooling system with accent on non-formal adult learning and converting each eligible child into a learning child.

Complimentarity of literacy; It is claimed that non-formal adult education is complimentary to the formal education. While such a statement may hold good under predominantly monolingual situations, in a multilingual context where elitist education leads to inequity, it is so only in a trivial sense. Under such circumstances of polarity of interest, non formal adult education is a corrective to the imbalance, an alternative which must ultimately lead to the re-examination of the structure and function of formal education. M. K. Bacchus has ably argued why the only chance of non-formal education being accepted is if it is offered concurrently with formal education which becomes increasingly open to the children of low-wage traditional sector (CCNFED 1/L/1 p. 10). The weakness of his argument is in the fact that (a) non-formal education which is not considered valid for the high wage sector, and (b) the formal education which has proved itself to be irrelevant for the third world is generalised for both the high wage and the low-wage sectors. In other words, it is not planning for transformation of societies, building of societies on their own cultural substructure, but fit them into superposed models and thus build permanent disabilities.

The elite in order to make confusion worst confounded often mix up the notions of formal and non-formal education. Thus in the country-paper on India it is stated that "The formal educational system in India was introduced by the British" (p. 4). Mahatma Gandhi's Basic Education, Tagore's Santiniketan, efforts of Swami Vivekananda, Dayananda and Maharishi Karve are termed as "experiments in the field of non-formal education." By no stretch of imagination the latter can ever be called non-formal. They are efforts at making formal education more relevant and responsive to the socio-cultural milieu of the country, though these experiments, thanks to the elite managers of education, "did not result in any large-scale modification of the formal educational system which was based on the western-type of education introduced by the British in India."

Faith of most of the educators and politicians in the 1950s and 60s was as much on informal education as in non-formal education in the 1970s and 80s. The primary motivation for the shift of loyalty cited is that (a) they cannot afford the escalation of the expenditure on formal education (M.K. Bacchus CCNFED/1/L/2) (b) in the context of negative correlation between formal education and employment in most countries, the fear to expand formal education and therefore non-formal education an handy alternative; (c) the structural anomalies of the society, the over profession-alisation of education and the supremacy of the written culture would lead to the acceptance of non-formal education (Andrees Fugelsang, op. cit.,) and (d) since formal education has failed to bring about social equality, non-formal education may be tried as an alternative. (Jagdish Bhagawati, "Education, class structure and income inequality" in *World Development*, Vol. I, No. 5, 1973), (e) schools should train for plenty in materialistic sense and not for poverty. Since schools do not train for development nor are their products relevant to their milieu non-formal education is probably the answer, and (f) as against the long gap between the products of formal education and productive processes, non-formal education directly relates to production.

In countries where motivation and mobilisation are interchangeable and where involvement is dictated by the party, the Govt, or both, the above issues have little relevance. But in countries which are multilingual, which have socio-culturally a traditional and a modern sector and cross cutting both a high-wage and a low-wage sector, these questions need to be examined critically. It is not true as Bacchus contends that the traditional sector is low-wage and the modern sector is high-wage. The modern sector in such countries has three components : the high-wage sector, the migrant sector, and the low-wage sector. The migrant sector earns high wage in terms of indigenous sectors but has access to only relatively low-wage sectors in the host countries. The low-wage sector component comprises of the educated unemployed. Under these circumstances, the arguments in favour of non-formal education given above are of questionable validity. Almost 99% of the education budget of India, until recently, was spent on formal education. The result is a vast army of educated unemployed. It is only during this Plan that it is envisaged to spend as much as 10% for non-formal education. The next group is of migrant trained man–power and on top is the high-wage sector, which is the ruling minority. Without a major restructuring of the formal education, which is perpetuating the minority and in turn accentuating the gap between the income of the small centre and the large periphery demand for development cannot be stemmed. That

language is a major factor in elite formation and can be used as an instrument for ushering in the egalitarian society in the democratic third world has been completely lost sight of by all the scholars. Unless the scholars in the developed countries and the elite in the developing countries understand the ethos of multilingualism and small zone comunication and structure the economic development in consonance with their societal needs, the tensions and conflicts are bound to tear them apart.

In the third world countries one is confronted with grassroot multilingualism, Partially because of concentric bilingualism and partially because of low energy transport linking the small communication zones, language was never a problem in the past. With the institution of schools, the first restriction on the choice of language use is imposed. It is an irony that the higher one goes in schooling. greater is the demand for lesser number of languages. The highly schooled elite managers thus develop an insensibility to the communicational needs of the society. Non-formal education, which has to relate itself to instant as well as standardised communication is a non-starter without the sensitivity to language issues.

Economics of literacy: The correlation between literacy and development and illiteracy and underdevelopment is too glaring to be ignored. (IBRD : World Atlas 1970–76 ; Also see UNESCO : *Readings in Economics of Education*, Paris, 1968). But when it comes to cost benefit accounting, the economics of the predominantly monolingual developed countries is sought to be imposed upon the developing countries. It is said that, "The problem, and therefore the cost, of teaching and learning literacy may also be considerably greater in multilingual societies, either because teaching materials must be produced in several languages or because local languages have no established writing system and/or no published reading matter." (CCNFED/3/L/2 page 2). Here the greater cost obviously is in comparison with a predominantly unilingual society. This is not only bad economics, this also reflects a poor understanding of the multilingual ethos. The economics of monolingualism is such that two languages are a nuisance, three languages are uneconomic and many languages are absurd. But where many languages are conditions of existence, restrictions on choice of language use is a nuisance and one language is not only uneconomic, it is absurd.

There is a very old tradition of adult education in India though the rate of literacy was low. Although the role of traditional institutions is recognised, it is often argued that " These institutions were not related to the economic strivings of

the community, and did not flourish under state patronage." (Bordia, Anil. 'Adult Education during the British period and after independence' in Bordia A, Kidd J. R. and Draper, J. A. (Ed.) *Adult Education in India*, Nachiketa Publications, Pvt., Ltd., Bombay 1973). Traditional grassroot institutions and folk communicators have played significant role in bringing about socio-economic revolution in the country at all times. They being under community partonage rather than under state patronage, particularly when all states tend to represent specific class interests, were more relevant to their socio-economic milieu than any organisation under state patronage today. When problems of people's education and culture are costed from the vantage point of the educated upper class elite in an industrialised and consumer oriented society, the megnitude of the problem of the majority is bound to be baffling and the economics of managing their problems bound to look wasteful.

Literacy and Communication : According to the International Standard Classification of Education (Division of Statistics on Education, Office of Statistics, UNESCO, Paris 1976), education is defined as "organised and sustained communication designed to bring about learning." Literacy, which enables deferred communication, is an important skill of communication. Region, social strata, the totality of linguistic rosources available to a community, generation, sex, education, vocation, social and economic status, caste ranking are some of the factors which define the communication setting of a people. In a multilingual society different languages perform the same function (Gumperz 1968) as speech varieties perform in a relatively homogeneous speech community. Therefore in any effort at literacy, communication zones based on domains of language use must be kept in view. In a region of small zone communications imposition of a single code may not only lead to non-communication but also induce elements of inequality.

It is not at all surprising that although there was dicussion on media, there was little discussion on language use, although there was discussion about teaching/learning material there was no discussion of linguistic issues in the 12 day conference. It is not enough to say that education is not neutral. The scholars present could have done a better service to the cause of education in general and adult education in particular, if instead of the pyro-technique, they undertook case studies of formal education in each of the countries and pointed out on whose side formal education is in those countries. Then only a rational basis for the definition and discussion of the method and material of non-formal education would have been laid.

9

THE PROBLEM AND PLANNING OF SCRIPTS

The Myth About Writing

Script is only the outer clothing of language. In the popular belief all over the world writing is considered more stable, more permanent than the spoken word. It is often confused with the language. It is only recently, with the advent of modern linguistics, that the primacy of the spoken word over the writen word is beginning to be recognised and the problems of fit and spelling are being scientifically investigated.

In India values of permanence are attached to the scripts and higher status is ascribed to those languages which have ancient and individual writing systems. More often separate identity of language is even recognised depending on the individuality of script. This explains creation of new scripts for unwritten languages and reluctance of minority languages for sharing the script of a neighbouring dominant major language. So much religious and emotional significance is attached to script that it is extremely difficult to talk in rational terms about script and script reform. Scripts are no more permanent than fashions in clothes. But in a traditional society where the instrument of writing was a clod of clay, a piece of chalk, an iron stylus, the feather of a bird or the medium of writing was either a birch bark, a palm leaf or a rock face, the number and shape of letters in the writing system had to be meticulously preserved and scrupulously propagated. The very fact that today a new script is created in India almost once in three months either for a specific language, by way of suggestion to be accepted as a pan Indian script, or universal script indicates the direction of change in thinking in this regard.

In the popular mind writing is endowed with magical power. This had led to the belief that script is the soul of a language. Even today one sees many Urdu

and Punjabi speakers in India making such claims. The fear of both Urdu and Punjabi losing their identity in the dominant neighbour Hindi may have been responsible for the religious sanctity attributed to these scripts as vehicles of Quoran and Guru Grantha Saheb respectively. This has been a convenient tool in the hands of politicians, who in the name of separate identity keep the people divided. Such partially religious and partially political positions can easily emotionally stir people against any rational approach to the problem.

There are also diametrically opposite situations where introduction of writing is considered as an evil omen. In societies, steeped in ignorance, controlled by witch doctors or such like, introduction of writing is resisted by the tribal leaders. Even otherwise, where a tribal child, educated in the schools and colleges, loses his tribal moorings, behaves like a non-tribal elite and is lost to the community, reading and writing is usually blamed.

There are people who blame educational failures on the script. They contend that had the books been written in the script of their recommendation, the learning processes would have been easier. Such snap judgements are not based on empirical evidence. However, such arguments are capable of rousing people for or against a particular script. From script the arguments can conveniently be transferred for or against a language.

The language planner can ignore all these only with lamentable consequences.

The Indian Scene

India is not only a country with many languages but also many scripts. There are ten major script systems, Nāgari, Gurumukhi, Gujarati, Bengali-Assamese-Manipuri, Oriya, Telugu-Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, Perso-Arabic and Roman. The first eight are drawn from a common source, Brāhmi. Although they are used to write languages belonging to all the four language families in India, the common heritage provides a sense of unity and familiarity among them, Perso-Arabic and Roman, though relatively late entrants and are considered foreign not being related to the indigenous proto-system, gained currency and prestige because of patronage from the ruling groups.

As there are dominant languages and minority languages, so there are minor script systems besides the major ones. There are, for instance Mahājani, Modi Karaṇi, Grantha, Bobhi (Laddakhi) which are locally used even today. Scripts, like languages fade away from active use in course of time. There were scripts

like Kharoṣṭhi, Śāradā, Vatteluttu and Tuḷu which are now extinct. Kharoṣṭhi, which was a sister of Brāhmi died as early as the 4th century A.D. and Vatteluttu as late as the 17th Century. Tuḷu which was written primarily in Malayalam with an admixture of Grantha was always referred to as Malayalam in epigraphic records. It is only recently that the name Tuḷu script is being revived.

The graphisation of non-literate languages have posed serious challenges to scholars as well as politicians. With the advent of Christian missionaries, the Roman script was favoured as the most fit vehicle for these languages. However, the effort to write them in one of the available eight major Indian systems as well as to devise entirely new script systems have gone hand in hand. The Ol script for Santhals, the Mundari script, the Gondi script, the Saora script and the Bodo script devised by protagonists of separate identity may be taken as examples of the latter.

As one can find examples of Ollari (Dravidian) and Gutob (Munda) languages spoken by one ethnic group, one language Hindi or Telugu spoken by different ethnic groups, so also one can find two or more languages written in one script as much as one language written in different scripts. Konkani in the West Coast, for example, is written in Nāgarī, Roman, Kannada and Malayalam scripts. Santhali, similarly is written in Oriya, Bengali, Nāgarī, Roman and Ol scripts and Sindhi with Nāgarī and Perso-Arabic scripts. Example of one script used for writing many languages is furnished by Nāgarī, which is used for writing Hindi, Marathi and a host of minor languages. The Arabic script is used to write Sindhi, Kashmiri and Urdu languages. Roman is also used for a large number of languages. Languages belonging to the same family or closely related group are written in different scripts as in the case of Bengali / Oriya, and Tamil / Malayalam. At the same time languages belonging to the same Sino-Tibetan family spoken in contiguous areas in the North are written in Bodhi and Perso-Arabic.

Sanskrit, the classical language of India was written in different regional scripts, creating new symbols and new script systems wherever necessary. Grantha was a result of this effort, This provided a further factor for integration in a country displaying all these complexities, Most of the languages in India have adopted the Sanskrit alphabet. Therefore, many languages display a large number of phonemic superfluities and inadequacies. There is a constant demand for script reform in almost all of the major script areas.

The script reforms in turn have their own problems. Languages which have long literary history have preserved layers of historical meanings in spellings which appear superfluous today. In almost all languages there are sounds which are represented by more than one symbol and there are symbols which represent more than one sound. Thus in Oriya distinction between short and long vowels, and the distinction between the three sibilants *s ś* and *ṣ* are lost. Their existence in spelling preserves the historical distinction and consequently their abolition from the orthography will create its own problems.

Another related problem is exemplified by Sindhi which at present not only tries to adapt rationally two scripts, but tries to establish equivalence between the two. This creates problems for the lexicographer in particular and the educators in general. The lack of vowel symbols in the Arabic script not only makes it difficult to express Sindhi words, but when an equivalence is sought to be established between the Arabic and the Nāgarī written word a host of complication show up.

Dimensions of Planning

India presents almost all the complexities that one meets on a tour of the world. Complexities arising due to a multiplicity of scripts and then application in printing, typing and telegraphy, linguistic and cultural complexities arising out of adapting of script to the spoken languages, the linguistic complexity of phonemic graphemic fit and the cultural complexity arising out of the spread of writing systems are only a few of the major challenges facing the planner. Whether it is for the purpose of spreading literacy, planning education or motivating the communities to participate in the socio-economic reconstruction, a carefully planned approach towards script becomes an absolute necessity.

With the movement for a single script, the existing major writing systems feel the strain. The major scripts with their recorded history of a thousand years usually become symbols of cultural unity of the groups employing them. So any effort at replacing them is bound to evoke serious opposition. The substitution of Roman for the Turkish is a unique case in the history of mankind. Even then it required a dictator like Kamal Ataturk to accomplish the task. The movement for replacing the Chinese writing system by Roman has met with stiff emotional re-action from time to time. The current attitude of the planners in China is to simplify the existing script and adopt the Pinyin system. The arguments for and against

the adoption of Roman and Nāgarī as single scripts for India and its implications for the emotional integration of the country will be discussed later. Not to speak of replacement, even the consolidation of script could evoke sharp reactions. For example, Bengali-Assemese-Manipuri is a single script system with Assamese having four letters distinctly different from Bengali. Similarly in the case of Telugu and Kannada the difference is in six letters. Besides, one of the major problems is 'talekottu', 'sarifa', or the *'mātra'* on the top of the letters which in one case is written as √ and in the other as ⅃. In spite of the demonstrated advantage of economy in printing etc., it has not been possible to resolve the problems. It may be mentioned in this connection that after Expert Committees examined the issues, both the Government of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have accepted in principle the question of a single writing system for both the languages. This awaits implementation.

The situation can be viewed from the point of tolerance of variation and the conflict resolution mechanism built into the Indian system instead of from the point of group tension. The same Nāgarī script used for writing Hindi and Marathi is called the Hindi script in the Hindi regions and Marathi script in the Marathi region. The situation is practically the same in case of Manipuri, Assamese and Bengali and Telugu and Kannada. Speakers of languages like Bengali Assamese and Telugu, Kannada could either resolve the minor differences and adopt single grids of writing or exaggerate the small differences to assert their different identities. That the same situation is fraught with integrative as well as disruptive potentialities must be taken note of by the language planner needs no further emphasis.

Script has been a major bone of contention among politicians dealing with non-literate languages. In a state where there is a single dominant script, the problem is one of adapting the script to a non-literate language. Different groups suggesting different solutions in this regard may lead to conflict and tension. But in the case of multiple scripts available as alternate choices, the adaptation of one or the other is bound to have serious consequences for literacy, education and integration.

The choice before the non-literate languages is to adopt one of the many existing major indigenous systems, to adopt a foreign system or to devise a new writing system. All the three are concerned with the emotional issue of maintenance of identity of the group. If not properly understood and resolved, this may create serious socio-political problems.

The case of Konkani, Santhali and Bodo may be taken for case study in this connection. More often the demand to write Konkani and Santhali in one script is advanced with a view to strengthen the demand for Konkan or a Santhal state. Similar is the case for Bodo. Bodos with a separate identity for themselves and therefore a section of them want an identity token separate from the dominant Assamese / Bengali group. This is further linked up with the demand of the consolidation of Bodo speaking areas in Assam, West Bengal and Tripura and demand a separate state. In all these cases the protagonists of one script consider script as a passport to privilege.

However the adoption of script has its own advantages and disadvantages in learning another language. In a community where the dominant language is written in its own script and English is considered the most important second language by both the majority and the minority speakers, writing the minority language in any one of the scripts may create its own problem. For example, to move from 'carc' to 'church' or from 'prist' to 'priest' there may arise problems which need to be carefully considered. Adoption of the dominant script may also pose similar problems. The advantages and disadvantages have to be carefully weighed in this regard. In India the major script systems, other than Roman and Arabic being generally related have a much better claim for unwritten languages in the respective regions, both from the point of view of establishing emotional bonds of identity and from the point of expressing the various phonetic feature which are influenced and modified by the dominant language.

The Indian Argument in Favour of One Script

The arguments put forward in favour of one script may be summarised as follows: (i) a maximally shared system of writing leading to the increase of communicability of one language to speakers of another; (ii) minimising the time required for acquiring skill in the use of such languages; (iii) linguistic unity, mutual understanding and emotional integration and (iv) the compulsive force of the technology of printing. Whether this one script would replace all the existing ones or would be a complimentary cementing factor is a crucial question. A wrong answer to this question will spell disaster and defeat the very purpose for which the common script is suggested.

The anti one-script group holds that, firstly, Indian culture has always meant unity in diversity. The attempt towards the standardisation of script is a direct

result of the lack of understanding of the basis of Indian culture. Secondly, the main problem before the government and the language planner is the liquidation of illiteracy and the consequent rise in the political, technical and cultural standards of the country. It is well accepted that the literacy of a people can best be attained through one's own mothertongue. Since the well established scripts in India have a history going as far back as a thousand years, those scripts are the most suitable medium for their respective tongues. Thirdly, script represents the individuality and personality of a language. Any tampering with it may lead to the loss of identity of the language and its speakers.

Since India has accepted the three-language formula, there is no ground for raising the question of supplanting scripts. Each child is required to learn at least three scripts, Nāgarī, Roman and that of another Indian language. The issue therefore is not whether one should or should not learn Roman or Nāgarī, but it is one of defining the domain of the use of both the scripts.

As is clear from the arguments, certain doubts are results of a fear psychosis, the fear that any substitution of all the scripts by one may be a prelude to the substitution of different languages by one. These two questions have to be clearly separated in the interest of a healthy atmosphere in the country. Besides this, certain other important questions like the relationship between language and literacy, script and language learning, raised by this group need to be taken up for closer examination.

The common script platform is mainly divided between the proponents of the Roman and the Nāgarī systems. The arguments in favour of Devanāgari are : (i) it has acted as a link between all Indian scripts ; (ii) the national prestige is enhanced by adopting an Indian script as the common script ; (iii) it is the most widely known script in India ; (iv) it is of uniformly formation and is suitable for teleprinters ; (v) it is potentially capable of fitting into the 90-channel magazine of a lino-composing machine ; (vi) it is more naturally arranged than any other and (vii) it is more phonetic than the Roman script.

The anti-Nāgarī and pro-Roman stand may be combined and summarised as follows ; (i) simplicity and the vigorously alphabetical character has made Roman the easiest to acquire ; (ii) the Roman script is used over a large part of the world and is the script for important languages of modern science and (iii) economy

in time in acquiring languages, in the cost of printing and in the effort of printing. These arguments, by inference, show that Nāgarī is cumbersome, uneconomical and is the vehicle for relatively unimportant languages. Besides, the Nāgari script is identified with the Hindi language and draws some opposition from the opponents of Hindi. It is further contended that Nāgarī is difficult to read because of (a) the multiplicity of characters, (b) the non-linear order in which some combinations of symbols have to be read, and (c) the alternative spellings.

The arguments which have been raised against the adoption of Roman are : (i) Roman has been learnt through English and English literacy is the lowest in the country ; (ii) a different Roman script for Indian languages may be a barrier for teaching English ; (iii) Roman is not phonetic and cannot cope with Indian sounds without modification and (iv) the Roman script with the diacritics will make it cumbersome and rob it of its advantages.

It must be clearly understood that a 'unified script' is not the same thing as a 'common script'. The first has the connotation of replacing all existing scripts, and is responsible for a good deal of opposition to any proposal of even a common script. Economy is a very illusive principle in any scientific discourse. It may be argued that a line of Nāgari takes less space than its transliteration in Roman. But at the same time one might achieve better fluency in writing Roman. Though in a type fount there would be more Nāgarī types than Roman, it is not easy to assert that less types with more frequent use of individual types is more economical than more types but less frequent use of types. As regards facility of comprehension, it is impossible to talk of economy of efforts in the absence of experimental data.

Admitting that script unification is like having a single power grid, a basic question needs to be asked for whom is this new unit meant ? If the newly admitted standard is meant to improve the standard of literacy in the country, can it do so ? What is the purpose of literacy ? The immediate purpose is to motivate a person to read and write though his identity affirmation and affirmation of cultural rootedness and the ultimate purpose is presumably to make the culture-content which has been accumulated through the ages available to the reader. If a script is chosen differing from that of the literature which is available or to which people

ere exposed and familiar, no amount of proficiency in the new script will make them literate in the traditional literature and culture.

It is in this perspective that the prolbem of romanisation has to be studied.

The Problem of Romanisation

To start with the proposition that Roman will or will not be accepted in India is to start from a position of bias. It would be better to reject this hypothesis and start with a rigorous examination of the suitability of either Nāgarī or Roman. However, it must be remembered from the beginning that be it Nāgarī or Roman, it has to be modified to suit the Indian condition.

Linguists have raised questions of adequacy and efficiency of script systems as criteria for acceptance of the script by a larger population. Both these notions are fuzzy and there is no empirical data to prove or disprove the hypothesis that the fewer the symbols, the faster and easier will it become to read and learn to read. It is generally accepted that any script augmented to take care of all phonemic contrasts should be adequate. But it may be that the greater the number of allographs, the lower the learning of the graphemes. Even a slight change in graphic shape may slow down learning. The Roman alphabet currently in use double the number of characters by having differing 'capitals'. Besides, diacritical marks as well as indicators have created as much, if not more, confusion as the present mātrās in regional language printing.

It is a fact that the wide acceptance of the Latin alphabet has not resulted in any kind of unity anywhere in the world. The widely varied phonetic values attributed to the Latin alphabet in different countries have made the scene quite confusing. As Gelb (1) points out, "The limitless homophony of sight is best illustrated by the spellings of the names of the famous Russian writer Chekhov, in which the initial sound can be written as Ch, Tech, C. Tsch, Tsj, Tj. Cz, Cs, or C, the middle consonant as kh, ch, h, or x, and the final one as v, f, or ff in various systems of the world, all using Latin signs". The various adaptations of Latin suggested in India by Firth, Chatterjee, Agrawal, Roy and others are additions to the existing confusion.

The various adaptations suggested for Indian languages suffer from limitations. The scheme suggested by P. S. Roy (2) is only a sample. It has to be worked out fully before any final verdict can be given. The deficiency in the scheme, as it is, emerges from the fact that it does not provide for the two Marathi affricates,

for the implosives of Sindhi, and for the Badaga voiced phonemes, which though otherwise identical, come in sets of three, differing in the presence of no, slight or strong retroflexion. It does not provide for the vowel signs required for all the Indian languages; though some signs are provided, the relationship has been obscured in many cases. The signs suggested for nasals may not be adequate when one analyses all the Indian languages.

The stress pattern of most of the Indian languages is yet to be investigated. It is not known what kind of visual pattern will emerge and what would be the learners' reaction when writing languages like Panjabi with this scheme or when stress is added to this kind of writing. The situation is bound to be confounding at the initial stages. This modified Roman would in no way be superior to Nāgari where conjuncts or combinations or graphemes are said to hinder learning.

These are only a few of fhe defects in the suggested scheme. The attempt to create one universal language has resulted in the creation of several passigraphic systems like visible speech, analphabetic notations, I.P.A., etc., and several languages like the Esperanto, Ido, Occidental, Interlingua, Novial, Volapuk, which are new additions to the already confused Tower of Babel. Similarly, these attempts to adopt Roman are yet new additions to the already existing schemes and confusions.

Gelb has rightly pointed out that from the point of view of the theory of writing there is nothing in the Latin alphabet as in use in western countries, which can be considered superior to what is found, for example, in the Arabic, Greek or Russian alphabets. The main point in favour of the Latin alphabet, namely its backing by Western civilisation, seems entirely to overshadow its apparent short-comings. From the practical point of view none, including the opponents of Nāgarī, has yet disputed the majority base of Nāgarī writing in India. The fact that Nāgarī is known to some and familiar to many has an added advantage over Roman. If the defects of Nāgarī are corrected this would be the perfect common script for India. The heritage of India's chromatic culture has to be brought constantly before the present and the future generations, if this country has to make any contribution. Roman cannot be adopted without making a complete break with the cultural past.

With the adoption of Hindi as the state language, English as the associate state language, and the adoption of the three-language formula as the strategy of planning, every child in each region of the country will be required to learn three

scripts. Roman with diacritics will be yet another additional burden on the young mind.

The 1971 literacy rate in India is 29.45 per cent. In this context what value has a script like Roman, with all its simplicity and wide acceptability elsewhere, if it remains a mystery to the great majority of people in this country ? It has to be decided whether a five per cent clique should be allowed to run the affairs of the country or a system should be adopted by which hundred per cent of the population can share the progress of the country. It must not be forgotten that the Latin system is foreign to the genius of Indian writing. In learning a language, emotional factors are overwhelmingly important. One will learn more quickly the 'good', 'Indian', 'treditional' rather than the 'new' or 'foreign'. The post-Independence accent on nationality and the idea of unity in diversity is likely to aid the adoption of a familiar Indian script and create some resistance against Roman.

Lauback says that "the battle of alphabets and languages is not won by arguments. In a democracy, it is the script that the people confront day-by-day as they go about their work and play that wins, no matter how scholars may expound. In every language in which there is a literature (though only a small percentage of the people may be able to read it) tradition and sentiment will hold fast to the present spelling spstem and alphabet. Only in languages which have been reduced to writing in this century, and in which there is a small body of literature, is there much chance of revision according to the latest scientific thinking. These are the literary facts of life ; we shall have to live with them and work with them as best as we can."

Technical Aspects of Script

Script is the major aspect of writing, but it is not the only aspect. Punctuation, spacing, paragraphing etc are equally important aspects of writing. In almost all Indian languages punctuation in the modern sense is almost a 18th-19th century phenomenon. That is one of the reasons why it is not so easy to read the ancient manuscripts. What intonation is to speech, punctuation is to writing. In the following Bengali hoarding the positioning of the full stop before or after nā changes the meaning entirely ; ekhāne prasrāb kariben nā karile pancās ṭākā jorimānā. "Please do not urinate here. If you do fifty rupees fine" would, if the full stop is positioned before nā mean "Please do urinate here. If not fifty rupees fine". There is no need to emphasise that punctuation is essential for clear enunciation of ideas. Diacritics provide a different dimension of writing. Whether

to write one symbol with diacritics for distinguishing two sounds or to write two separate symbols depends to a large extent on the phonemic structure of the language and the availability of notational symbol in the script concerned.

In this connection graphisation of stress and tone may be taken into consideration. There are basically two ways of writing stresses, linear and non-linear. Let us suppose that in language X there are three phonemic stresses one of which is unmarked and the other two marked. This language which uses Roman script does not have use for Q and Z as phonemes. Therefore, this language with a word such as 'apkura' with stresses in the 1st and 2nd syllables would be written as 'aQpkuZra' (Q=primary stress and Z=secondary stress), The non-linear way of writing this may be either 'apkura' or 'a^{1}pku^{2}ra'. Sometimes instead of using consonantal symbols, the structure permitting, one could use vowel symbols for marking tone. In a language, for example, if stressed vowels are phonetically longer and there is no contrast between short and long vowels. doubling of vowel in writing may stand for a stressed vowel as in a : aa, i ii etc. Those who number tones follow different convention. As Gedney(3) points out, two different conventions are followed in marking tones in Tai languages. "Some scholars are in the habit of listing frist the tones on smooth syllables where the maximum number of contrasts is possible, and then going on to assign additional numbers to the tones occurring on checked syllables. Other scholars, recognising that the two sets of tones are in complementary distribution, identify the tones occurring on checked syllables with the phonetically most similar tones of the other set." There are examples of tribes rejecting the linear in favour of the non-linear on aesthetic grounds. There are also instances where the non-linear is sought to be rejected on the grounds of unsuitability for printing.

The problem of writing suprasegmental features is not only restricted to the tribal languages. Even in a language like Sanskrit, this problem has come up in an interesting manner. Sanskrit tonal marks were almost never written and those who were familiar with the rules or those specially tutored to recite the *ślokas* with proper intonation could read it. But in the new Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Deccan College, Poona, an effort has been made to mark the tonal contours and this has raised understandable controversy among the Sanskritists. The Gurumukhi script, similarly, does not maintain the distinction between the short and long vowel. The Granthi knows how to read it. Each literacy language has its

own reading conventions and those spoken languages which are being newly written are bound to establish their own conventions. A clear understanding of this problem may clarify many points, both existing and those likely to emerge.

A phonemic script may not always be an ideal solution. Sometimes extensive dialect differences may lead to phonemic differences which are better expressed by a morphophonemic script. The Chinese script, for instance, is morphophonemic in this sense. The mutually unitelligible Chinese dialects find in the script a medium through which modernisation and standardisation may be brought about.

It has been indicated above that every language establishes its own conventions of writing and reading. For example, the Assamese writes what a preson knowing the script alone would read as 'ciṭibach', but for the Assamese the expression reads 'city bus'. Similarly a Tamilian may write 'kānti' but read it as 'gāndhi'. To one unaware of the language specific value of letters this may be quite puzzling, but once familiar with the spelling conventions, the pattern in the apparent madness becomes clear. In adapting a script by a non-literate language or a common script for a nation having multiple scripts, the question of facility of acquiring reading in a second language is often cited as a point in favour of the argument. In the absense of empirical date to show whether it is easy to move from, say, right to left, left to right, top to bottom etc., Such arguments often remain polemic. However, the problem of reading from right to left as in Urdu or Arabic and reading from top to bottom as in Chinese or Japanese, for a person who is conditioned to reading from left to right is a problem which has to be faced by someone planning classroom strategy for the learners of those languages,

Suggested Measures

In India if printing tachnology is to do its bit in the expansion of literacy and primary education, then rational planning needs to be done in regard to the use of script. The following five principles are suggested as guidelines,

(a) Discouraging creation of new scripts : The Abasama script for the world languages by Abasama, the NandaKa alphabet for English by S. Parameswar Iyer, a common script for world languages by M. Gnanasambandan, international script developed by Shri Karulekar and Sulipi developed by Sulochanan are some examples of new scripts developed in India and proposed as common scripts. Various modifications of the Roman script have also been suggested so as to make

them the common script in India. These are additions to the existing multiplicity of scripts, which come not only in the way of rational integration but also in the way of dispersal of knowledge created in one segment of the country in the other segments. There is an inherent universal element in the grammars of Indian scripts. There seems to be no rationale in creating new scripts using various components of dots and dashes nor inducting foreign scripts which are not organically ralated to the Indian script system.

(b) Use of dominant script systems by non-literate languages : The large majority of Indian languages and dialects lack a writing system. In the present context of realities in India large number of minority languagc groups, suffering from identity crisis are demanding recognition of their languages. It is often contended that a speech form is not language unless it has a script. Invention of Saora script, Ol script, Mathli script, Chakma script, Kurux script and the Bodo script are expressions of this sentiment. It is seldom realised that from the point of view of the development of typing, printing and tele-communication technology it is against the interest sf those languages themselves to have a separate script. From the point of view of studying an additional writing system which will have no relevance in future is also academically unsound. At the same time it must however be recognised that for giving a chance to the minority language speakers to fully participate in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country it is urgently necessary to provide them education which will quickly bring them to the mainstream of activities. This would require recognition of their mothertongue for purposes of primary education with provision for smooth transition to the school language in which education is provided and in which their immediate economic interest lies.

In view of this it is suggested that the non-literate languages be encouraged to adopt and adapt the script system of the neighbouring dominant language with which their immediate economic interest is tied up.

(c) Rationalising and consolidating the allied scripts : It is absolutely necessary to reduce the number of major script systems by accepting a single system for more than one languagc wherever possible. For instance, the difference between the Bengali and Assamese script systems can be said to be a marginal difference only. Similarly, a difference between Kannada and Telugu is maginal in nature. It should be possible to adopt a single system and call it Telugu script in Andhra Pradesh, and Kannada script in Karnataka. Parallel situations are presented where the same script is called Bengali script in Bengal. Assamese script in Assam, the Devanagari script

is called the Hindi script in the Hindi areas and the Marathi script, in the Marathi areas. A grammar of each of these writing systems could however be written to point out their individuality and difference. This kind of consolidation will be a great step towards rationalisation of printing technology, creation of a wider book market and national integration. Questions like who should adopt those scripts need not be made pseudo-prestige issues, but be decided keeping technological advantage in view. For example, r + consonant cluster is written in Kannada which is similar to old Telugu and can be accommodated in two keys of the typewriter. This is better than two strokes in dead keys and therefore accepted by both With a spirit of give and take these problems can easily be solved.

(d) Script reform : All over the country efforts are being made to change shapes of scripts wherever necessary to suit the demands of technology. In some ways this is related to the guestion of adoption of a uniform auxiliary script for het whole country. It is expected that when the report of the survey of Indian publishing undertaken by the Indian Council of Applied Economic Research on behalf of the National Book Turst is available, a lot of information about regional language printing would have been assembled in one place for further research. In the interest of efficient research and introduction of new technology there is a great need for co-ordination in this area.

(e) Quick learning of scripts : Script is relatively a minor aspect of learning a language. However, since it imposes an otherwise avoidable barrier an effort must be made to devise suitable measures for quick learning of scripts. The CIIL is the pioneer to devise a script teaching strategy based on patterned perception and contrastive observation, popularise learning of scripts on the basis of shape similarity. It has prepared a film entitled 'Learn Devanagari', film-strips for teaching Bengali and Urdu scripts and television programmes for teaching Kannada, Telugu and Tamil scripts. It has plans to make similar films and audio-visual programmes on other scripts. It is also preparing a series of programmed script learning books and filmstrips. These and many other audio-visual aids could be used with profit for accelerated learning of reading and writing,

From the above discussion it will be clear that writing is as complex a social act as speaking. It is true that many of these problems are scientifically being discussed due to the participation of linguists. But historically, the neglect of writing by linguists and their consideration of writing outside the main domain of linguistics

(Bloomfield 1933, Hockett 1958, Gleason 1961, Bolinger 1968, Langacre 1968, Lyons (1968)(4) has led to the delayed recognition of writing as a valid area of sociolinguistic enquiry. I hope that this discussion will draw attention of scholars to the "most conspicuous shortcoming of traditional studies of writing in that they reveal very little about the social patterning of this activity or the contribution it makes to the maintenance of social systems"(5).

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10

LITERACY COMPONENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

There is a great deal of confusion about the structure and function of adult education. Those who wish to formalise adult education perceive literacy as a transition between the preliteracy and postliteracy stages. For them, the preliteracy stage is to create 'reading readiness' in the adult and the post literacy stage is equal to the ability of an "individual who has received an average level of elementary education." In this scheme, the educator is the knowing subject and the knowable content is encapsuled in folders, pamphlets, books and other coliteracy materials for the consumption of the learner.

Paulo Frere, who makes a radical departure from the above scheme by treating bofh the educator and the learner as the knowing subject attempting to acquire the knowable object through the process of a dialogue, believes that the illiterate not only lacks language, but also lacks reason. Since for him both critical analysis of the concrete context as well as learning to read and write are acts of knowing, he seeks to capture one through the other. First of all, his premises are of doubtful validity. Secondly, his generative word 'FAVELA' (slum), in the process of codification, decodification and recodification resulting in Eva viu a uva (Eva saw the grape) and A asaeda ave (the bird's wing) ends in an anticlimax. The claim that 'knowing, five or six generative words, the learners can begin to write brief notes' becomes all the more meaningless, as one does not know whether the notes would be in the area of critical analysis of reality or about grapes and bird wings.

It will be seen that the pervasive concern for primers on the one hand is matched by the assertion about the limitation of primers on the other. Both the positions accept awareness and functionality as complementary components of

literacy and therefore separable entities. Therefore while in the one case it is possible to produce disfunctional primers lacking in awareness, in the other it is the production of trivial sentences resulting from recodification of syllables of the so called generative words. Under these circumstances, unless there is clarity about the goal, strategy, structure and function of adult education, no useful purpose would be served by sterile theorisation.

Adult education is dialogic in the sense that it enables an adult to enter into a dialogue with himself and with the society in which he operates. It is not merely a dialogue between the learner and the teacher in a formal classroom situation mediated by primers, readers, and other textual material, nor is it confined to a disputation with an oppressor. The dialogic situation must make him critically aware of the role and stats relations existing in the societies around him, the factors promoting and inhibiting his individual and community interests and the factors which keep him an exploited member in an unequal society. Once this critical awareness is enkindled, the learner will break the barrier of literacy and seek material in his language and in other languages which link him with the multiple societies around him.

If literacy has not succeeded, it is because it has failed to provide the learner with this liberating awarenss, give him an instrument of use value which is of relevance to his existing experiences. Literacy which seeks to enchain him to the state of bondage to an unequal existence or enables him merely to bargain for small privileges with the immediate visible exploitors is equally irrelevant for him. Unfortunately in multilingual and multicultural societies language is manipulated as an instrument of inequity by the privileged and therefore is used to control entry into the commodity value based society. Formal education not only controls the use of language, but relates the learner to the language of textbooks. Adult education, in order to be effective, must relate the learner to the language through which he would seek to celebrate his awareness.

II

Before talking about literacy, it is necessary to underline that the illiterate already manipulates his language at a fairly high sophisticated level. His language is intimate, warm, picturesque and appeals to multidimentional senses. His idiom is the reflection of his work and experience. Therefore to teach him isolated words and simple structures is based on a poor assessment of his competence. To teach

him words which are not connected with his experiance naturally leaves him cool. If he is not motivated for literacy it is because the language is alien and unidimensional, the content is irrelevant and the style is verbose and propagandistic. In a multilingual situation where a language is different from one's own, is the language of public domains or where the distance between the home language and the language of public domains is considerable even if they are dialects of the same language, literacy poses greater challenges. It is in this context that the literacy component in adult education is to be viewed.

In the traditional society greater trust was reposed on the word of the mouth. This is reflected in Tulasi's *'Raghukula rīti sadā cali āyi, Prān jāi par vacan na jāi'* (the tradition of the Raghu clan is that word is honoured even at the cost of life.) At a time of rapid social change the new relationship must be discussed, understood and critically examined. Since many of the new contracts are witten, beginning from a dialogue through prodding, questioning and asserting the illiterate must be led to a gradual and orderly transition from oral to literacy skills. This transition must be based on a new understanding and a new trust and need be considered as an extension of existing abilities.

What constitutes literacy has been a subject of discussion all over the world. While mere signing the name or ticking a marriage register is considered literacy by some, nothing less than equivalent to the fifth standard of elementary education is acceptable as literacy by others. Whichever position one takes the basic skills and activities of literacy may be enumerated as (a) recognition, recall and manipulation of symbols, (b) symbol sound correlation, (c) generative use of symbols in texts, (d) guided to free composition, and (e) litaracy as a mode of communication. In orderto attain this in the shortest possible time, an amalgam of structural, generative and situational approaches may be used with profit.

Regidity in the staging and sequencing of the alphabet has created needless controversy which has confused these constructing primers. There are many letter based approaches to literacy of which the following deserve special attention.

(1) Some insist that since the learner is to be acquainted with all the symbols and he has to learn the traditional order to use a dictionary, the letters of the alphabet may as well be taught in tha traditional order.

The problem with such learning is that the generation of words and sentences is unduly delayed until the learner completes the BĀRĀKHADI, the complete combination of consonants and vowels. This acts as a disincentive. Moreover, the phonetic basis of arrangement and the systematic correlation between sounds

and symbols being unknown to the teacher, the adult learner finds it a boring and fruitless exercise.

(2) Some insist that frequency should be the underlying principle in the presentation of letters. More frequent letters should be presented first as they represent the most frequent sounds.

Frequencies in Indian languages have been worked out either for speed writing or for type casting. The samples in both the cases are different. Since both the samples are from written literature, in view of the wide ranging divergence between the spoken and the written varieties of languages, this may prove to be more of a limiting factor. Secondly, assuming that *h* is a frequent letter in the written language, but it is absent in the spoken, such teaching may stand on the way of a smooth transition from one to the other. For example in Telugu and Kannada there is no aspiration in the spoken language, but *h* is a frequent latter in the familiar words. This is a problem for material writers. Thirdly, it is necessary to distinguish between list frequency and text frequency. Assuming that in the frequency count of a language *m* is of relatively low frequency, still if one wishes to write a book on the musalmans, he would need to use *m* extensively.

(3) some others insist on the presentation of letters on the basis of shape similarity. Since researches on the eye indicate pattern perception rather than perception or a discreat element, it is proposed to devide the alphabet in groups in terms of shape similarity and present them to learners.

It is often argued that this similarity is bound to create greater confusion than facility. But confusion if any, can be remedied by emphasising elements which keep two units within a pattern different while using them in different contexts.

Those who have propounded the word and the sentence method have fared no better. Equally strong views have also bean expressed by persons holding different positions.

(1) some hold that following the pedagogical principle known to the unknown, one should start by using familiar words. Thus one Oriya primer begins by mā (mother), ramā (a name), bara (husband) ramāra rabara (rubber of Ramā). Such unconnected words may teach vocabulary but are no great aid to reading and writing.

(2) Some others hold that generative syllable is the best answer to teaching. They say that only with two syllables *tā* and *lā* one can generate words

and sequences like *lālā tālā lā, tālā lā, lālā lā,* etc. But this is limited both from the point of content as well as expression.

(3) Paulo Frere's concept of the generative word is somewhat different. It aims at choosing words which capture the imagination and appeals to the emotion of the learner, once the word is chosen its syllabic pattern should be taken as the basis and possible CV patterns using the consonants of the word as base should be listed. All CV patterns using one consonant is considered a syllabic family. Then more words and sentences should be formed using all these syllables.

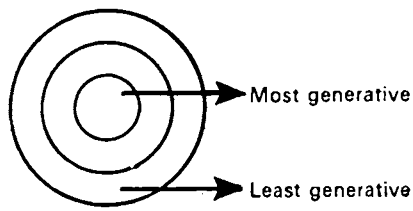
Frere's family of syllables is nothing but the Bārākhadi or the Banā. while the word initially chosen may be emotionally surcharged the words and sentences formed from the family of syllables may be tame and trivial. His claim that 17 words would make one literate is an over statement. There is no way of testing the validity of his claim. If the teacher fails, his failure could always be attributed to his incapacity in creating a 'mini world !'.

Random use of emotive words and slogan-like sentences have their use, but unless manipulative skills and communicative settings are kept in view, the learning of reading and writing are likely to be delayed. Every language has its own reading and writing conventions. There is no one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and letters in any natural language. For the three sibilant symbols in the major Indian languages, the Oriyas have one pronunciation as alveolar sibilant, the Bengalis as palatal sibilant and Hindi and Marathi have two pronunciations as alveolar and palatal. Whatever may be the phonemic status of the sounds the three latters in each case have to be learnt by the new learner as they are part of the spelling structure of the language and represent historical layers of meaning. In Assamese, where one writes *citibach* and reads as *sitibas* or in Tamil, where one writes *pāṭam*, reads as *paRam* and speaks as *paRõ*, the change in pronunciation reflect changes in the sound structure over a period of time.

Since most of the Indian languages have adopted the Sanskrit alphabet system, letters are syllabic in character, i.e., they consist of a consonant and a vowel. However, in many languages positionally they are realised as consonant. For example the representation बक will be read as *baka* by an Oriya speaker, while as *bak* by a Hindi speaker. In the final position Hindi consonant letters are consonantal and not syllabic ending in a vowel. (For further discussion see article on ('The Problem and Planning of Scripts' in this Volume).

III

It should be clear by now that rigidity in attitude is bound to result in an uninteresting primer. A better approach may be to construct a massage content keeping in view the needs and interests of the learner in a simple language. This then may be simplified keeping in view the generative nature of letters, words etc. For example, assuming that all letters can be arranged in concentric circles in terms of their generative capacity, one will encounter a picture as follows :



After a message is constructed its simplification using the most generative letters and words without impairing its appeal and the meaning is the biggest challenge for the material producer. The organisation of the most generative letters into visually similar groups for manipulative purposes poses an equally serious challenge. At the initial stages, apart from evocative and emotionally surcharged words, attention should be given to the following dimensions. (1) Words having communicative value over a large territory is to be chosen for the initial reading book. In most spoken languages not reduced to writing there is a great variability of language over small areas. However there are words which are recognised by large segments of population even if different words are in active use. Such words are to be preferred to local words of restricted use. (2) Words from dialects are to be chosen where no words exist in the standard. For example, one need not hesitate to use the Bhojpuri word *PoRhna* as no suitable word exists in the standard Hindi for *maturity*. (3) Words from dialects may be chosen to create special effect. In Marathi the word *sandhya* is available in the standard language. But *kātarvel* selected from the dialects has an electrifying effect. (4) Words with relatively simpler phonology requiring simpler collocations should be preferred. For instance, given comparable use of two words *sandhya* and *sanja*, the latter is to be preferred. Similarly it must be understood that the choice of *nāsikā* or *nāka*

'nose' in Oriya dictates different collocations, such as *nāsikā kuneana kar—* and *nāka moR—* signifying two different styles,

As in the case of words, so also in the use of sentences one has to be aware that simpler sentences are better than embedded sentences at the initial stages. It must be however remembered that the adult already manipulates fairly complex structure and therefore this situation is different from that of the second language learner. For purposes of initial reading a simpler style is to be preferred to an involved style.

This brings us to the question of spoken and informal style of the language as distinct from the written and formal styles. Redundancy, displacement of classes, deletion of subject and object, pronominalisation, use of intonation rather than use of syntactic devices such as inversion of word order are some of the features of the spoken language. In adding the ability of writing, therefore, transition from one skill to the other in an orderly manner has to be kept in view.

Those involved in literacy try to do too many things in too little time because of their lack of knowledge of functional load carried by different skills and different languages. For example, there is no reason why more emphasis should not be given on reading and writing deferred to a later date. It is important to know that while a person may have respective control of two or more styles and languages, he may have productive control in one. Even viewed from the point of need, there may be a greater need to read than to write for most. Therefore experimentation in this area has to be conducted to determine how long writing can be postponed and for which groups, how long oracy is to be continued before launching literacy.

Even if a primer is well formed still some of the problems may arise again and again. The teacher's confusion between teaching a textbook and teaching a language is one of the major reasons for this. The teacher sees letters, words, sentences in a printed page and often misses the cumulative analytic and synthetic considerations underlying a specific presentation. The teacher's freedom to alter arrangements in the primer can be meaningfully exercised only if the basis of given presentation is properly understood.

A question often asked is about the length of the lesson and the size of the primer. This question can only be answered indirectly. Whether it is the lesson or the primer it is important to ensure that the material is of abiding interest to

the learner. It is equally important to bulid into the material small steps so tha he learner gets a sense of achievement at every stage.

IV

The Governmental policy relevant in the discussion on the production of material for adult education, before and after NAEP was launched is not different in substance. Referring to social education Abul Kalam Azad, when he was the Union Education Minister, specified that attention must be paid, (i) to education in citizenship, (ii) on laws of personal and public health, (iii) on imparting information which would enable people to effect some improvement in their economic status, (iv) on art and literature including creative activities, and (v) on the universal ethic of tolerance, mutual appreciation and universal principles of right coundct.

NAEP emphasises 3 aspects of content :

Literacy and Numeracy—of a sufficient level to enable the learnere to continue self relient learning.

Functional Development—functionally viewed as the role of an individual as a, producer and worker, as a member of the family and as a citizen in a civic and political system.

Social awareness—including an awareness about the impediments to development, about laws and Govt. policies, and the need for the poor and illiterate to organise themselves for pursuit of their legitimate interests and for group action.

The emphasis in the past in spite of the avowed policy orientation was on literacy. The various dimensions of adult education as distinct from adult literacy have not fully emerged today because of the persisting ignorance of and insensitivity to language. As scholars have tried to transfer the artificial dictotomy between the structure and function of language from an analytical level to a communication level, the adult educators try to separate the components of literacy, functionality and awareness. Both of these are responsible for the production of a lot of ambiguous, didactic, culturally inappropriate and even functionally incommunicable primers and readers. Those who are in favour of mass society and uniform education find in a primer an instrument to destroy diversity and control people's education. Unless those interested in literacy understand that formal education relates the learner to a book, but adult education relates the learner to a language and experience in living, unless they understand that formal education celebrates the aquisition of bookish knowledge whereas adult education celebrates awareness, even the limited goal of literacy will remain a far cry.

